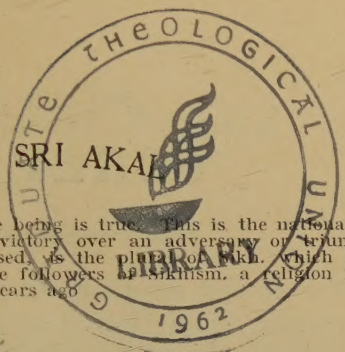
Nabha Series No. 1



SAT SRI AKAL

SAT SIR AKAL—The supreme being is true. This is the national cry of the Sikhs, generally signifying victory over an adversary or triumph for a cause.—The word Sikhs as used, is the plural of Sikh, which literally means a disciple. Sikhs are the followers of Sikhism, a religion founded by Nanak about four hundred years ago

Truth About Nabha

NABHA—A Sikh State in the Punjab, a province of India.

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SHROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE

SHROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE—A committee for the management of Sikh Shrines and Temples.

AMRITSAR

AMRITSAR—A city in the Punjab It was founded by Ramdas, the fourth Guru of the Sikhs. Besides being important as the commercial center of the Punjab, it is also renowned for being a religious center of the Sikhs, who throng to this city in large numbers to take a bath in the holy waters of the tank surrounding the famous golden temple, which stands as a monument to perpetuate the precious memory of their beloved guru, Ramdas.

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SAT SRI AKAL

FOREWORD

The forced severance of His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendar Bahadur of Nabha from the administration of his state in connection with the Nabha-Patiala[1] Dispute has come as a great shock to the whole Sikh community. From the facts that have been revealed during the last few weeks the Sikh[2] community has been convinced that the interstate dispute has been availed of by the Government to get rid of an orthodox, self-respecting Sikh Prince and also in this way to undermine the Sikh Panthic[3] organization which is essential for the Religious Reform movement, which has revivified the Sikh community and which the Government has been vainly trying to crush since the last three years. This booklet is an attempt to lay before all lovers of truth the facts which have led the Sikh community into the conviction mentioned above, and compelled them to determine to get the grievous wrong done to Nabha and the Panth[4] redressed by all peaceful and legitimate means.

AMRITSAR.
9th September, 1923.

(1) A Sikh State in the Punjab.

(2) A disciple.

(3) National, but not necessarily political. The national organization referred to above is the committee for the management of Sikh shrines and temples and is essentially a religious organization.

(4) Nation.

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Truth About Nabha

—1—

ORIGIN OF THE STATE.

Nabha is one of the three Phulkians State of the Punjab, named after Phul the common ancestor of their Maharajas[5]. The other two states are Patiala and Jind. Phul was the grandson of Mohan, a devout Sikh of Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru[6]. Mohan, with the blessing of the Guru, founded the village Mehraj in 1627 after the name of his great-grandfather. In 1631, when Mohan and his people were being overwhelmed by their haughty-neighbours, the merciful Guru with 500 of his Sikhs came to fight for him.

The next remarkable incident that connects the family of Phul with the history of Sikh religion is the blessing bestowed upon Phul by Guru Har Rai, the seventh Guru. One day Phul and his brother Sandli were presented before the Guru as two starving orphans by their uncle Kala. The little children stroked their lean bellies as a sign that they were hungry.

The Guru's heart was moved and he blessed them, saying, "They shall found Kingdoms and water their horses in the Jumna[7]. Out of their prosperity thousands shall be fed." These prophetic words are believed by the Sikhs and the Phulkian Maharajas as the basis of the rise of the Phulkian States. The head of the family had already got the official designation of Chaudhri. As Phul grew up and gathered power the

(5) Literally means an Emperor. But the British government actuated. now as ever before, by an enlightened sense of self-interest, confers this title on the Indian princes, who do not enjoy the powers of even a mere king, not to speak of an emperor at all.

(6) Leader. Generally spiritual and religious. The Sikhs had ten gurus in succession Nanak, the founder of the Sikhism, was the first guru.

(7) A river tributary to the Ganges.

Emperor of Delhi appointed him a tributary Sardar[8]. He had many children, out of whom the most famous were two of his sons, Tiloka and Rama. The Rulers of Nabha and Jind are descended from Tiloka, the eldest son, and that of Patiala from Rama. This family was further bound with the sacred history of Sikhism when in the summer of 1695 Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru and the founder of the Khalsa[9], called upon Tiloka and Rama as his own to bring their followers to fight against the hill-chiefs, who were troubling the Guru at Anandpur[10]. The autograph letter of the Guru, sent on this occasion, dated the 2nd of Bhadon, Sambat 1753 (1696 A. D.) contains these significant words: "I am very well pleased with thee; Thy house is mine (Tera ghar mera ghar hai)."

This sacred letter, with other relics like the Guru's own turban, is preserved in the Gurdwara[11] situated in the fort of Nabha. Bhai Tiloka, with his younger brother Bhai Rama, served the Guru on many other occasions. In 1704, when the two elder sons of the Guru lay martyred on the battlefield of Chamkaur[12], it was these two brave Sikhs who, putting their lives in great danger penetrated the imperial guard and securing the dead bodies of the Guru's sons cremated them to prevent desecration. They were afterwards arrested for this and thrown into prison. They managed to get released after some time and rejoined the Garu. They were baptised in 1705 by the Guru's own hands and

(8) A person governing a certain territory as a tributary to a higher power. This also, like Maharaja. is used as a title and is bestowed on persons who have either already rendered or are liable to render, some unusually conspicuous service to the British government, a service which may, of course, help the latter to achieve some selfish motive.

(9) Pure one. Here it means the order of the pure ones—the Sikhs.

(10) A town in the Punjab. It is of immense historical importance and interest to the Sikhs. Gobind Singh, the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, passed a major portion of his life here. The Sikhs had a strong fortress here in the tenth Guru's time. Many of the important battles of the war, which this illustrious leader of mankind had waged against the tyranny of the then rulers over the oppressed Hindus, were fought here.

(11) Temple. An edifice in honor of a Guru and the worship of God.

(12) A town in the Punjab. Like Anandpur it is also important as one of the battlefields where the war to eradicate sin and to secure justice and righteousness was fought.

became Tilok Singh and Ram Singh. The great-grandson of Tilok Singh, Hamir Singh, founded the present town of Nabha in 1759.

From the above it will be clear why so much religious sentiment is gathered round Nabha and other Sikh States in the hearts of the Sikhs.

II

Relations of the Phulkian States

With

BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The relations between the Phulkian States and the British Government sprang from the fear of these powers from the growing strength of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Punjab. The former feared absorption in the Raj of Lahore[13] and the latter wanted to confine that Raj[14] to the northern banks of the Satluj[15]. The first foundation of an alliance was laid at an interview between Lord Lake and the chiefs of the Cis-Satluj states in the spring of 1804 at a small village called Tamak-Lodha. Still the Sikhs in the neighborhood of the Jamna continued to be apprehensive of the intentions of the British and assisted the Rohillas[16] and the Mahrattas [17] against them. To reassure these Sikhs an amnesty was proclaimed in the month of March, 1805, by the British commander-in-chief to all those Sikhs who would agree to observe peace and abstain from operations against the English. As against this solicitude of the British, which was, of course, actuated by an enlightened sense of self-interest, must be set the campaigns of annexation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the years 1806 and 1807-8 in the country south of the Satluj in pursuance of his ambitious dream of a unified Sikh Raj from Kabul to the Jamna. No wonder then that in March, 1808, the chiefs of Jind Kaithal[18] and a representative of Patiala visited Mr. Seton, the

(13) Sikh Empire under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Lahore was the capitol of the Sikh Empire. as it is today of the Province of the Punjab.
(14) Kingdom or Empire.
(15) A river in the Punjab.
(16) People inhabiting Rohilknand, a territory in India.
(17) People inhabiting that part of India called Maharashtra. They are very hardy and strong people and belong to a martial race. They offered a remarkably stubborn resistance to the advent of the British in their territory—a resistance which, however, was unfortunately a failure.
(18) States in the Punjab.

Resident at Delhi, to sound him as to the extent and kind of protection which the British Government might be willing to afford them. The mind of the British Government, at this time, was racked between two desires—the desire of putting a limit to the southward advance of the Lahore Raj by ensuring the existence of a barrier of friendly States to act as a buffer, and the desire of securing the powerful alliance of Maharaja Ranjit Singh against the emergency of a French invasion, for in 1808, when the French Emperor Napoleon was at the height of his power, the Government of India received reports that the French, who, for some time, had been endeavoring to establish themselves in Persia, designed also the conquest of Kabul[19] and the Punjab. So while Mr. Seton was writing friendly and encouraging but non-committing letters to the Cis-Satluj chiefs, Mr. C. T. Metcalfe was sent to the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to enlist his sympathies and to negotiate a defensive pact. The Maharaja, on the other hand, wanted to make use of the difficulties of the British to persuade them to agree to his domination over the Ces-Satluj States. The British Government was sitting on the fence and might have jumped to any side. Suddenly in December, 1808, the Governor-General adopted a definite attitude of sternness. For this decision of the Government, says Sir Lepel Geriffin, "reasons, which it was then inconvenient to state openly, had their weight. A French invasion was beginning to be believed the impossibility it really was; and the desire for a defensive alliance against France was growing naturally weaker. The British Government was not, at any rate, disposed to allow its northern frontier to be in a chronic state of invasion or disturbance in order to obtain a treaty which would probably be worthless when obtained." Maharaja Ranjit Singh "complained

(19) The capitol of Afghanistan, a country on the northwest of India.

bitterly of the change of policy of the British Government, whose envoy had arrived with the expressed object of increasing the friendship between the two States and concluding a treaty against France. Yet the only friendship shown was in the thwarting his schemes and his policy, which was neither new nor strange, while the original object of the treaty was altogether forgotten." The following extracts from Government's instructions to Col. Ochterlony, 30th January, 1809, is very significant: "As the intelligence lately received of the favorable change in the aspect of affairs on the continent of Europe justifies a conviction that the project of France against the British possessions in India must, if not entirely abandoned, at least, be so far suspended, as to render any extraordinary and immediate preparations for defense unnecessary, **the views and intentions of Government under which your instructions of the 9th ultimo were framed are materially altered.**" In the instructions of 29th December, 1808, referred to above, Colonel Ochterlony had been told that "it was to be his special care to **reconcile** the Cis-Satluj chiefs to British protection by showing them that it was essential to their very existence. The protection was at first to be general but would be defined later."

At one time Maharaja Ranjit Singh felt so exasperated that he almost determined upon war, but upon mature thought he decided in favor of diplomatic negotiations, and had no sooner formed his design of war than abandoned it. The British Government, too, was now ready for a treaty of aimty, which was finally concluded at Lahore the 25th of April, 1809.

"By this time Maharaja Ranjit Singh resigned forever all supremacy over the Cis-Satluj Chiefs, and claims to the Cis-Satluj territory that came under the protection of British Government. Nor did the Maharaja at any future period seek to evade its provisions

which destroyed his most cherished ambition and to which he had agreed with so much reluctance.

As a corollary to the treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Governor-General in Council issued on the 3d May, 1809, a proclamation of protection against Lahore to the Cis-Satluj chiefs which was as follows:

It is clearer than the sun, and better proved than the existence of yesterday, that the detachment of British troops to this side of the Satluj was entirely in acquiescence with the application and earnest entreaty of the chiefs, and orginated solely through friendly considerations in the British to preserve the chiefs in their possessions and independence. A treaty having been concluded on the 5th April, 1809(between Mr. Metcalfe, on the part of the British Government, and Maharajas Ranjit Singh), agreeably to the orders of the Right Honorable, the Governor General in Council, I have the pleasure of publishing, for the satisfaction of the Chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind, the pleasure and resolutions of government contained in the seven following articles:

Article 1—The country of the Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind having entered under the protection of the British Government, in future it shall be secured from the authority and control of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, conformably to the terms of the treaty.

Article 2—The country of the Chiefs thus taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

Article 3—The Chiefs shall remain in the exercise of the same rights and authority within their own possessions, which they enjoyed before they were taken under the British Government.

Article 4—Whenever a British force, for purposes connected with the general welfare, shall be judged necessary to march through the country of the said Chiefs, every Chief shall, within his own possessions, assist and furnish the British force, to the full of his power, with supplies of grain and other necessaries which may be demanded.

Article 5—Should any enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering this country; friendship and mutual interest require that the Chiefs join the British army with their forces, and, exerting themselves in expelling the enemy, act under discipline and obedience.

Article 6—Any European articles brought by merchants from the eastern districts for the use of the army, shall be allowed to pass by the thanadara[20] and Surdars of the several districts belonging to the chiefs, without molestation or demand of duty.

Article 7—All horses purchased for the use of the Cavalry Regiments, whether in Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being furnished with sealed rahdarees[21] from the resident at Delhi or Officer Commanding at Sirhind, the several Chiefs shall allow such horses to pass without molestation, or the demand of duty.

This proclamation, says Griffin, "had reserved to the chiefs the right of perfect liberty in their internal affairs."

The declaration of non-interference was very soon put to the test. The quarrels of Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala and his wife, Rani As Kaur, produced great confusion in the Patiala State, and Col. Ochterlony, who

(20) Police officer.
(21) Passports.

was in political and military charge of Ludhiana, recommended certain arrangements for intervention for checking mismanagement on the 9th March, 1811. The Government of India in its reply to Col. Ochterlony, dated 5th April, 1811, reaffirmed its policy of non-interference, elaborating in some detail its reasons for that policy. The reply has been summed up as follows:

"The Government of India, while entertaining favorable opinion of the measures proposed by Colonel Ochterlony, was averse on general principles of policy to take any direct participation in their adoption. This was the first occasion since the Cis-Satluj States had been taken under British protection, that the direct interference of the Government had been requested and the reason for its determination was that it considered an adherence to the principle which had been so often and so solemnly professed, of abstaining from all interference in the internal administration of the Cis-Satluj States, of more importance than the attainment of the benefits which a deviation from that principle might be expected to produce in an individual case. That even if the interference was with consent of the Chief and his friends most directly interested, yet still the credit of the public professions of the Government would be lessened; that the interference of a powerful State in the affairs of a weaker was necessarily progressive, with relation not only to the latter but to others contiguous; that such interference involved the guarantee of the arrangements which it was employed to introduce; and placed the interposing power in connection with some local interests and in opposition to others; while, by the natural effects of action and reaction, the Government which employed its influence for the adjustment of these foreign concerns would be ultimately compelled to become the arbiter and controller of local administration in all its branches, and to identify the rights and interests of the

protected State with its own. On these grounds the Government desired its agent to limit his interference to advice and recommendation on points that might be submitted to his judgment" (Griffin).

But the Government later on felt that while pledging itself to abstain from interference with internal affairs, it must try to prevent interstate disturbances and aggressions, and hence the second Proclamation of Protection to Cis Satluj States against one another, dated 22nd August, 1811, given below:

"For the information and assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the plains between the Satluj and Jamna.

On the 3rd of May, 1809, a proclamation comprised of seven Articles was issued by the order of the British Government, purporting that the country of the Sirdars of Sirhind and Malva, having come under their protection, Raja Ranjit Singh, agreeably to treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Sirdars; that the British Government had no intention of claiming tribute or fine, and that they should continue in the full control and enjoyment of their respective possessions. The publication of the above Proclamation was intended to afford every confidence to the Sirdars, that they had no intention of control, and that those having possession should remain in full and quiet enjoyment thereof.

Whereas several Zemindars[22] and other subjects of the Chiefs of the country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government, who, having a view to the tenor of the above proclamation, have not attended, and will not in future pay any attention to them; for instance, on the 15th June, 1811, Dellawar Ali Khan of Samana, complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Raja Sahib Singh, for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them; who, in reply, observed "That the village of Samana, being in the territory of Raja Sahib Singh, this complaint

(22) Landlords or land owners.

should be made to him;" and also on 12th July, 1811, Dussownda Singh and Gurmukh Singh complained to Colonel Ochterlony, agent to the Governor General, against Sirdar Churrut Singh, for their shares of property, etc., and in reply it was written on the back of the petition that, "Since during the period of three years no claim was preferred against Churrut Singh by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned, and since it was advertised in the Proclamation, delivered to the Sirdars, that every Chief should remain in the quiet and full possession of his domains, their petition could not be attended to." The insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also, that it may be impressed on the minds of every Zemindar and other subjects, that the attainment of justice is to be expected from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not, in the smallest degree, swerve from the observance of subordination. It is therefore highly incumbent upon the Rajas and other Sirdars on this side of the River [23] Satluj, that they explain this to their respective subjects and court their confidence; that it may be clear to them that complaints to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Sirdars as the source of justice, and that of their free will and accord they observe uniform obedience.

And whereas according to the first Proclamation, it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Sirdars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information, that several Sirdars have, since the last incursion of Raja Ranjit Singh, wrested the estate of others, and deprived them of their lawful

(23) The country on the right side of the river was under the rule of the Sikhs government, under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, while that on the left was occupied by several states and the British government. This side, as here used, naturally means the left side of the river.

possessions, and that in the restoration they have used delays until detachments from the British army have enforced restitution, as in the case of the Ranee[24] of Zeera, the Sikhs of Cholihan, the talooks of Karowley and Chehloundy, and village of Cheeba; and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues; and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses. It is therefore by order of the British Government hereby proclaimed, that if any of the Sirdars or others have forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owner, it is necessary that, before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property; in which, however, should delay be made, and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the revenues of the estate, fromthe date of the ejection of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of troops, shall, without scruple, be demanded from the offending party; and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government."

In spite of its better sense the Government of India did commit the mistake of interfering in the internal administration of Patiala by taking up the matter of the quarrel of Raja Sahib Singh and his wife Rani Askour. The results of this interference, in the opinion of Griffin, were unfortunate, and "however well and generously meant, it could only be pronounced a failure." The other Sikh Chiefs threw upon the Rani and British Government the odium for the seclusion into which the Raja had retired, the Rani's most judicious measures had been thwarted; the troops were discon-

(24) Wife of a raja—Queen.

tented and mutinous; while murder was actually plotted in the very Darbar and the forbearance of the British Government openly claimed as an immunity for the grossest crimes. Under the circumstances the Government of India was only glad to get out of the Patiala tangle when in March, 1813, Raja Sahib Singh suddenly died and was succeeded by his young son of fifteen, Prince Karam Singh.

The next important stage in the history of the relations of the British Government with the Cis-Satluj States dates with the outbreak of the First Sikh War in 1845. The correct history of two Sikh Wars[25] of 1845 and 1848 has yet to be written by some future historian, but here we are concerned only with a definite aspect of these wars, i. e., how far they affected the relations of the Cis-Satluj States with the British.

The beginning of the year 1845 did not find any of the great Sikh Chiefs south of the Satluj well disposed towards the English Government. It may be said that the result of the first British expedition to Kabul had dispelled the belief of these Chiefs in the invincibility of the British power, and also after the removal of the fear of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by the hand of death, the British protection was not as indispensable as before. But the root of the matter lay deeper in the human feelings which made all Sikhs one, whether they resided to the north or to the south of the Satluj. The year 1845 saw a great national reaction in the Punjab against the advancing tide of a

(25) The Sikh wars referred to above were fought between the Sikhs and the British. The British forces never won a decisive victory against the Sikhs, which could have entitled them to annex the Sikh Empire to their own. On the contrary, old records and documents preserved for the benefit of those who might try to write an unprejudiced history and not divulged at the present on account of fear of confiscation by the British government, reveal that the Sikh armies won smashing victories over the British. But the British government, as usual, managed by fair means and foul, even to the extent of offering bribes to generals, to achieve its longed for end. It is hard to get true accounts of these wars from the existing histories. In the first place very few have attempted to write this from an unbiased and impartial standpoint of view. Those who did attempt, however, to do so were not allowed to publish their works. The publications that came into existence were suppressed and confiscated by the British government.

foreign domination. The fierce passion of national liberty, dislodged from all other dwellings, found a place in the crude but brave hearts of Sikh yeomanry but for want of proper guidance and control and a clear grasp of its objectives, ended in breaking itself against the rock of the mighty power of the British.

Bearing this in mind it is no matter of wonder that, as Griffin says, "In 1845 the feeling south of the Satluj was strong in favor of the Khalsa; and although the Chiefs knew that their interests were bound up with those of the English, their sympathies were with Lahore." Every village contained soldiers of the Lahore army. The Chiefs were not always able to control troops whose sympathies were with the Lahore army. Even the Governor-General in his dispatch of the 17th November, 1846, is obliged to admit that during nearly 40 years of British protection of the Cis-Satluj States the attachment of the Sikh population had not gained and that their own national and religious feelings disposed them to consider the Khalsa army as composed of friends and relations. He says, "Every village had some relations in the Sikh ranks, and if questioned by our officers to what regiment he belonged, the soldier usually replied in a tone of defiance, that he was a soldier of the Khalsa army on furlough at his native home. The hearts of the Sikh population in our protected States were with the men of their own tribe and sect and decidedly adverse to the British government."

This feeling of sympathy was intensified in 1845 by the knowledge of the Sikh population that the war had been brought on by overt acts of aggression of the British Government and its representatives. The advance of bodies of English troops towards the Satluj contrary to all previous understandings, the British designs to dismember the Sikh Kingdom by helping Shah Shuja[26] to seize Peshawar, the insolent and aggressive

(26) King of Afghanistan.

behavior of the British agent, Major Broadfoot, which in some cases, was disapproved even by his own Government, the provocation given by Sir Charles Napier, the Governor of Sind, and the wrongful resumption by the British Government of villages of Mowran and Bains, were some of the main reasons for convincing the Sikhs, in the words of Cunningham, "that the fixed policy of the English was territorial aggrandisement, and the immediate object of their ambition was the conquest of Lahore." Cunningham admits that "inquiry will show that the policy pursued by the English themselves for several years was not in reality well calculated to ensure a continuance of pacific relations, and that they cannot therefore be held wholly blameless for a war which they expected and which they knew could only tend to their own aggrandisement." Again, "the original agreement which left the province of Sirhind free of troops and of British subjects had been set aside by the English for objects which seemed urgent and expedient." "The confident English persevered in despising or misunderstanding the spirit of the disciples of Guru Govind Singh."

Fully knowing the great and close ties that bound the Cis-Satluj Sikhs with their brethren living north of the river, and perfectly conscious of their own actions which had exasperated the Punjab Sikhs and intensified the sympathy of the Cis-Satluj Sikhs, the English, in spite of the unprecedented circumstances of the situation, took up the position that if the Cis-Satluj Sikhs do not act with the zeal of friends, they must be considered enemies. Too great and unjustified strain was put on the regard of the Cis-Satluj Chiefs for the British power. This action was neither borne out by previous agreements, nor dictated by human considerations. The Chiefs racked by two feelings were not able to come up to the inhuman standard set up for them

by the British Government. Maharaja Devindar Singh of Nabha specially felt distressed over the prospect of "his bullets piercing through Sikh turbans." He refused to abide by certain unconstitutional demands of Major Broadfoot, agent to the Governor-General. This brought down on him the ire of the British Government. After the war had been won, this Maharaja, whom Griffin pays an unintentional compliment by calling him "a bigoted Sikh" and a proud prince, was deposed as a punishment and one-fourth of his territory was confiscated after the face of an investigation, "although direct and satisfactory proofs of a treasonable correspondence were not found," and although the Maharaja was able to put up an unanswerable defence. But the time had come when the British felt strong enough to make a substantial change in their attitude towards the Cis-Satluj States. The Chief of Nabha was only the hardest hit. For, says Griffin, "nor had the majority of the Chiefs shown their loyalty in 1845 in any more conspicuous manner than in not joining the enemy." Several most important measures were then adopted by the Government. The first was the abolition of all police jurisdiction in most of the States; the second measure was the abolition of transit and custom duties; and the last was to accept a commutation for the personal services of the Chief and his contingent. The principal States were exempted from the action of these reforms. In 1848 "the Sikh army had again taken arms to expel the foreigners" from the Sikh Raj, and the result was the ready shelving of the treaty of 1846 and the annexation of the Punjab. But in quite an uncalled-for manner the sovereign powers of all the Cis-Satluj States, with the exception of the nine chief States, were suppressed.

In the troublous times of 1857 the three Phulkian States gave great help to the British Government. At

the end of the troubles new territories were granted to various Chiefs, and Sanads[27] were also issued to them for their new territories. "There were other privileges and concessions granted to them, of the greatest value and of a character which changed materially the nature of their relations with the British Government." In 1858 these Chiefs had united in asking the British Government to recognize certain rights of theirs.

The first was the restoration of the power of inflicting capital punishment, which had been taken away from them after the first Sikh war of 1845, although no allusion had been made to it in the granted Sanads.

"The second request of the Chiefs was that, in case of a minority in any one of the three houses, a Council of Regency, formed of three of the old trusted servants of the State, should be appointed by the British agent and the other two Phulkian Chiefs, while, from this Council, strangers and the relatives of the minor should be excluded. The Government agreed to this request." (Griffin.)

The third and fourth clauses of the memorial of the Chiefs asked for the right of adoption, in default of male issue, from among the members of the Phulkian family; and, in case of the death of a Chief without male issue and without having adopted an heir, that the two remaining Chiefs should have power to elect a successor from the same family. These arrangements were necessary to guarantee the continuity of their rule. The Governor-General was opposed to the sanctioning of these two rights, but the Home Government decided in favor of the Chiefs.

The fifth request sanctioned was that no women should have admission into the Council of Regency or have any participation in affairs of state either on the ground of the youth of the Chief, or any other pretext whatever.

(27) Certificates.

In January, 1860, Lord Canning, the Viceroy and Governor-General, held a Durbar at Ambala for the reception of the Chiefs of the Cis-Satluj States and announced the granting of Sanads, which were given to the Maharajas on the 5th of May, 1860, confirming to them all their territories, ancestral and acquired, and acknowledging other important rights of theirs.

As we are at present concerned with the Nabha State, the Nabha treaties are reproduced below, which are very much like those granted to Patiala and Jind. The first is a more explicit and personal assurance sought and obtained by Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha in 1810 about the points touched in the Proclamation of 3rd May, 1809, by which the Chiefs were taken under British protection. The second is the famous Sanad of 1860. The third is the important Sanad about the right of adoption. The fourth is a Sanad making a grant of certain territory in lieu of a loan of nine and a half lakhs[28] with interest which the British Government had taken from the Nabha State. The treaties are given below.

(28) One hundred thousands.

Nabha Treaties

No. XCVII.

Requests on the Part of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha and the Governor-General's Replies.

1810.

First—That Tribute and Nuzzerana be remitted.

Agreeably to the Proclamation, issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony in 1809, which declares that the country of the Chiefs of Malva and Sirhind comprehended between the Sutludge and Jamna rivers shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government, no tribute or Nuzzerana will ever be demanded.

Second—That under the auspices of the honorable company my power and authority in my own territories shall continue to be exercised by me according to established usage.

Rajah Jeswunt Singh of Nabha shall continue to exercise the same power and authority within the limits of his own territory which he has enjoyed since he has been received under the protection of the British Government.

Third—That under the protection and with the support of the British Government, I shall continue to hold possession of my country, as I held it from the first to the present time, unmolested by any one.

Rajah Jeswunt Singh shall continue in the occupation of all the lands which he possessed at the period of the last expedition of the Rajah of Lahore across the Sutludge.

Fourth—With respect to the grant of a Jageer such as was conferred on my brethren by Lorn Lake after his lordship's return to Delhi in reward of their services during the contest with Holkar, I hope that Gov-

ernment will now manifest its favor and liberality towards me, as I was prevented by indisposition from attending his lordship at the same time with the other Chiefs.

The Governor-General refers Rajah Jeswunt Singh to the letter which was addressed to him by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony on the 6th of February, 1809, as containing his lordship's sentiment on the subject of this request.

Fifth—The British Government is my asylum. I am hopeful, therefore, that the circumstances of my sincere attachment and devotion will be viewed with a favorable eye.

The British Government considers Rajah Jeswunt to be among the number of its faithful friends and well wishers, and he may rely with confidence on the continuance of its favor and protection so long as his conduct shall continue to be regulated by the principles of attachment and obedience.

No. XCVIII.

Translation of a Sandad Regarding Possession of Territory Granted to the Rajah of Nabha by His Excellency (the Viceroy and Governor-General of India).

Dated: 5th May, 1860.

Whereas, since the day of the rise of the sun of the everlasting British Empire and supremacy in this country of India, the acts of loyalty and devotion to Government of Farzand?Arjumand-i-Akidat-Paiwand-i-daulat-i-Inglishia Barar-bans. Shirmor Raja Bharpur Singh Malwindra Bahadur and Raja Jaswant Singh Sahib, grandfather of the said Raja Sahib, were in former times fully conspicuous, particularly in the year 1857, A. D., and the Raja Sahib Bahadur rendered and displayed worthy and conspicuous services which

surpassed his previous achievement. Therefore, in recognition of such approved services, the powerful British Government, by way of royal favor and kindness, has conferred on the Raja Sahib Malwindra Bahadur some territory and additional title for generation after generation and descendant after descendant. The Raja Sahib Bahadur has applied for a renewal of the Sanad regarding his ancestral territory as well as that granted to him by the powerful Government. In view of His Excellency, the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to approve of the grant of the present Sanad by way of treaty with the conditions entered below as a memorable document:

CLAUSE I.

According to the list annexed to this Sanad, the Raja Sahib Bahadur and his successors will, in the present and future time, exercise sovereignty, with peace in mind and in perfect security, in accordance with ancient custom, over his ancestral possessions and the dominions bestowed on him by the British Government and consider the territory granted to him by the British Government in recognition of his good services as his ancestral territory with all powers and rights, internal and external. All powers, great and small, administrative and criminal, and in respect of the produce of revenue, etc., will as heretofore remain permanently vested in the power and the control of the Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur and his successors generation after generation and descendant after descendant in present and in future forever and in perpetuity; and (his) brothers, Zaildars[29], Chaharumians (persons entitled to a fourth share) feudatories, Jagirdars and dependants will, according to old custom, obey the orders and commands of the Raja Sahib Bahadur and his successors.

CLAUSE II.

The powerful British Government will not demand

(29) A civil officer.

or exact anything on account of Nazrana[30], land revenue, administrative or criminal cesses, compensation on account of troops, etc., or on any other plea whatever, in the present or future, from the Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur, his successors, dependents, brothers, Zaildars, Jagirdars, Chaharumians, or feudatories except as provided in Clause III.

CLAUSE III.

As an additional royal favor and having regard to the loyalty and devotion of the Raja Sahib Bahadur the powerful Government desires that this territory should always remain under the sovereignty of this family. Therefore, the power of adoption is granted forever to the said Raja Sahib and his successors so that in case there is no lineal descendant, they may, for the purpose of perpetuating the line of Chiefship, adopt a successor, according to their own choice, from among the descendants of the Phulkian family. The powerful Government cordially accepts and agrees to this. The powerful Government also grants permission that in case, may God forbid, the Raja on the Masnad[31] suddenly die, without leaving a lineal descendant or an adopted successor, the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala and the Raja Sahib of Jind, in concert with the Commissioner Sahib Babadur, may select a successor from among the Phulkian family and place him on the Masnad. In that case Nuzzrana to the extent of one-third of the income of the State for one year will be paid into the treasury of the British Government by the Nabha State.

CLAUSE IV.

Formerly regarding the infliction of capital punishment, etc., a reference to the Commissioner Sahib Bahabdur used to be made. Now this practice has been stopped, and in future full authority for inflicting capital punishment, etc., in his own territory according to

(30 Gift.
(31) Throne.

the old custom is granted in perpetuity to Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur and his successors. Similarly with regard to punishing subjects of the powerful British Government committing crime and apprehended in the territory of the Nabha State, the Raja Sahib Bahadur and his successors are granted power in accordance with the provisions of the dispatch No. 3, dated 1st June, 1836, from the Honorable Court of Directors at the capital, London. The Raja Sahib Bahadur will exert himself by every possible means in promoting the welfare of his people and the happiness of his subjects and redressing the grievances of the oppressed and injured in the proper way. He will prevent in his territory female infanticide, SATTI[32] and slavery, which are opposed to the principles of justice and equity towards the people. In the event of any person at any time committing the above-mentioned prohibited crimes without the knowledge of the officials of the Raja Sahib Bahadur, the latter will inflict deterrent punishment on him.

CLAUSE V.

The Raja Sahib and his successors will never fail in their faithful and devoted obedience to the Empress, Queen of England and her successors.

CLAUSE VI.

If at any time any hostile troops with mischievous intention should appear in his neighborhood from any side or direction, the Raja Sahib Bahadur will, along

(32) The burning of a live woman with her dead husband on the latter's funeral pyre. Some propagandists, actuated by motives beneficial to the interests of their employers and masters and detrimental to those of India's, are never tired of proclaiming to the world that Satti was an established institution in India before the advent of the British there, and even those women who were unwilling or rather averse to making such a sacrifice were subjected to this custom. which is said to have been rife then. Nothing can be farther from the truth. It is sufficient to remark that it is mere exaggeration. That there were a few, though rare instances, where Satti did occur cannot be denied, however, but the number of such cases hardly excels those of which burning in the so called more civilized European countries at the same time. It is a folly to ascribe the abolition of Satti to the British government. It was prohibited by Akbar, the famous Mogul Emperor, and later our beloved Guru Amar Das. enjoined upon his followers to abstain from indulging in such things. All this occurred before the British majesties even dreamed of setting foot on India.

with his existing force, sincerely and loyally co-operate with the English in repelling them in accordance with past practice. He will exert himself, to the utmost of the resources, in providing supplies, grains, etc., and transport according to the requisitions of British officers.

CLAUSE VII.

Complaints against the Raja Sahib from his subjects, Muafidars[33], Jagirdars[34] dependents, brothers and servants, etc., will on no account be listened to by the powerful British Government.

CLAUSE VIII.

With regard to internal management and the affairs of brothers, household and relatives, the rules and arrangements made by the Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur will always be respected and not interfered with by the powerful British Government.

CLAUSE IX.

On the occasion of the construction and repairs of roads in his territory the Raja Sahib Bahadur will, in accordance with the written communication of the Commissioner Sahib Bahadur, arrange from his own territory, through KARDARS and officials of Parganas[35], according to former custom for the materials required on payment; and at the time of the construction of a railroad or other roads, the Raja Sahib Bahadur will concede free of charge, land that comes under the roads in the same way as he has done for the Imperial road.

CLAUSE X.

The Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur will always pursue the course of obedience and loyalty to the powerful Government who will likewise continue to uphold

(33) Those who are excused from paying taxes, either in part or wholly.
(34) Persons receiving a certain amount of tax from a particular vicinity. This is granted by a government to a person who might have rendered some meritorious service to the former. In some cases it is granted for good, while in others only for a generation or two. It corresponds more or less to the old feudatory system in Europe, but is not much in vogue in India now, having become unpopular and discredited on its own merits, which are self-evident.
(35) A territory consisting of several villages.

his honor, respect, rank and dignity in the manner it is done at present.

List of Ancestral Territories of Farzand-Arjumand Akidat Paiwand-I-Daulat-I-Inglishia, Barar-Bans, Sirmur Raja Bharpur Singh Malwinder Bahadur and of Territory Bestowed by the Powerful Government, Annexed to the Sanad Granted by His Excellency Earl Canning, Governor-General and Viceroy of Her Majesty the Queen:

Detail of all Parganas, the ancestral property of the Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur—

Nabha Khas	Pargana Dhunowla
Pargana Amloh	" Phool.
" Bhadsoon	" Jeytokee.
" Kapur Garh	" Lotwai.

Share of Bhairoopa with right of criminal jurisdiction and right over all subordinate rent-free holders residing therein.

The village belongs to (Nabha) together with the village of Kaugar and Muafidars.

Share of Patiala, Malpada and Bhaddore is forty-two "Kulbas," a piece of land to cultivate which only a pair of bullocks is required.

Share of Jind is 28 quarters of the above.

Territory granted by the powerful Government without any payment of Nazrana and with all powers and proprietory rights like those for ancestral property.

Pargana Kantee.
" Bawal.

All the administrative and criminal powers and rights of ownerless lands, Zaildars, Jagidars and Mufidars, etc., enjoyed by the Raja Sahib Malwinder

Bahadur, will be enjoyed in perpetuity by the successors of the Raja Sahib:

The Sikhs of Sontheewala.
The Sikhs of Ram Das Logranwala.
Lodh Khuria Goomtiwala Muafidars.

No. XCIX.

To Furzund Arjumand Ekeedut Pyebund Daulat-i Englishia Burarbuns Surmour Raja Bhurpore Singh Malvendra Bahadur of Nabha, 1862.

Her Majesty, being desirous that the governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories, should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, to repeat to you the assurance which I communicated to you in the Sunnud under my signature, dated 5th May, 1860, that on failure of natural heirs, your adoption of an heir from amongst the members of the Phulkian house will be gladly recognized and confirmed; and that if at any time the Raja of Nabha should die without male issue, and without a successor, it will still be open to the Maharaja of Patiala and the Raja of Jind, in concert with the commissioner or political agent of the British Government. to select a successor from among the Phulkian family, but in that case a Nazrana or fine equal to one-third of the gross annual revenue of the Nabha State shall be paid to the British Government.

Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagements thus made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

Dated 5th March, 1862. (Sd) CANNING.

No. C.

Translation of a Sunnud or Grant of Portions of the Pergunnahs of Kunoudh and Boodwanah, District Jhujur, Bestowed on the Rajah of Nabha by His Excellency Earl Canning, G. C. B., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas the devotion and loyalty of the Rajah of Nabha and of his ancestor Rajah Jeswunt Singh have always been conspicuous since the establishment of British supremacy in India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, being desirous of marking his high appreciation of these qualities, has been pleased to bestow upon the Rajah portions of Pergunnahs of Kunoudh and Boodwanah, of the District of Jhujur, containing forty-two villages, according to a vernacular list annexed, assessed at a yearly revenue of forty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-five (Rs.47,525[36]), and to accept from the Rajah a Nazrana of nine lakhs fifty thousand and five hundred. (Rs. 9,50,500). It is accordingly ordained as follows:

ARTICLE I.

The territories above-mentioned are conferred upon the Rajah of Nabha and his heirs forever.

ARTICLE II.

The Rajah and his successors will exercise the same rights, privileges and prerogatives in these newly acquired territories as he at present enjoys in his ancestral possessions, according to the terms of the Sunud, dated 5th May, 1860, and signed by His Excellency Earl Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

ARTICLE III.

The Rajah and his successors will continue to maintain the same loyal relations with the British Government, and to fulfill the same obligations with regard to this newly acquired territory, as were imposed on

(36) There are three Rs. to a dollar.

him by the terms of the Sanad, dated 5th May, 1860, relating to the Rajah's ancestral possessions.

Here it would be of interest to quote an apt passage from the late Queen Victoria's famous proclamation, in which we read:

"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honorable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachose of others. **We shall respect the rights, dignity and honor of Native Princes as our own."**

III.
MAHARAJA RIPUDAMAN SINGH.
Malvindra Bahadur.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the personal career of His Highness, for he is a well-known figure in India. A short survey will, therefore, suffice here. Hewas born in 1783 and is the only son of the late Maharaja Hira Singh of blessed memory, who "ruled until his death in 1911, and was always distinguished for his loyalty to the Crown, which was evidenced by his services during the second Afghan war. His son, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendra Bahadur, succeeded to the gaddi in 1911, being then 28 years of age. As the Tikka Sahib[37] of Nabha he had served on the Viceroy's Legislative Council during 1906-8 and was responsible for the introduction of an Anand (Sikh)

(37) Crown Prince.

Marriage Bill. In general, he showed his sympathy with advanced political views. He was president of the Social Conference which met in Lahore in connection with the National Congress in 1909, and in the following year visited Europe under medical advice and was received in private audience by the King. He also attended the King's coronation in the following year. During the war the state contributed about Rs. 45 lakhs to various war funds and loans and presented a hospital ship for use in Mesopotamia." (C. & M. Gazette[38], July 10, 1923.)

What is necessary, however, to emphasize is the sincere love of His Highness for the Sikh religious and Panthic welfare, and also his sincere love for the Indian national aspirations for the realization of India's political destiny.

By personal temperament and training and by the traditions of his house, he was given a strong inclination towards Sikhism from his early years. In his veins flows the blood of those staunch Sikhs—Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the wise and brave, and that martyr to his love for the Panth, Maharaja Devendra Singh, and that proud old Sikh, the father of his subjects, the late Maharaja Hira Singh. In his boyhood and youth, his father placed him under the tutorship of Sikh scholars. Personally throughout his long sufferings and troubles his inherent inclinations towards his religion have always impelled him in that direction. He has never ceased to dwell with fondness on a cherished belief of his family that he was born, as the only son of his father, as the result of the prayers and blessings of a holy Sikh saint, Baba Rodu Ram, the disciple of the famous Baba Dharam Dass of Aklia, Patiala State. The

(38) An Anglo-Indian organ published daily from Lahore, India, in English. It is semi-official, being controlled and possibly subsidized by the British government. It has always borne an attitude of e treme hostility towards the Indian interests and, as usual, it has maintained the same attitude with unswerving zeal in the present juncture. Hence the above quotations from this avowed anti-Indian organ are significant.

wooden shoes of Baba Dharam Dass are to this day preserved in the family as a sacred relic. Perhaps he is the only Sikh prince who can recite the sacred word of the Gurus, quote chapter and verse, and achieve correct pronunciation almost like a scholar. Perhaps he is the only Sikh prince who can recite from memory the daily prayers of the Sikhs and who in 1910, in passion-tossed youth and in the dazzling, materialistic atmosphere of London scrupulously recited the five daily prayers of the Sikhs. In all functions of life, birth, death marriage, baptism, he has faithfully followed the orthodox Sikh practices. Even now, in the depth of distress in his forced exile at Dehra Dun, after bitter experiences which might have driven some into cynicism and unbelief, it is understood that the word of the Guru moves his heart to its deepest depths. It may be made clear that it is not the intention here to hold forth the Maharaja as an angel or a beau-ideal of a Sikh, but simply that in spite of his human frailty he possesses the Sikh virtue of love for his Guru and his Panth; a virtue, which would be considered so laudable in any Sikh, and should be considered the more so in one who is placed in the tempestuous environments of princely life.

His Highness has given substantial proofs of his solicitude for his religion and his Panth. As a member of the Viceroy's Council he introduced the Anand (Sikh) Marriage Bill and did the difficult pioneer work which led to the final passage of the bill into law. This was a very great service to the cause of Sikhism, and its full significance may not be clear to non-Sikhs. In the earlier stages of the present Sikh awakening the movement had to be definite, for much that was foreign and excrescent had fastened itself on the Sikh dormant body politic after the paralysis caused by the Sikh wars of 1845-48. The Sikhs had taken up many practices

which had nothing Sikh-like in them. One of the institutions thus affected was the important function of marriage. The salutary and inspiring effect of a purely Sikh marriage has been a great factor in restoring the old orthodox mentality in Sikh homes, and the Anand Marriage Act has been a powerful help to Sikh marriage-reform. And for this the Sikhs are indebted to Maharaja Ripudaman Singh.

In February, 1907, he fearlessly took up the cause of a Sikh Granthi[39] of the 14th Sikhs who had been unjustly dismissed because, while sitting in attendance on the holy Guru Granth Sahib, he had not salaamed an English officer, as he could not, for, according to Sikh principles a Granthi while in attendance on the Holy Volume is not to bow to any person of whatever position or eminence. In spite of the repeated attempts of the secretaries of government, Mr. J. R. Dunlop-Smith and Mr. J. M. Macpherson, to browbeat him he refused to withdraw his questions regarding the affair of which he had given timely notice. Finally his voice was simply suppressed by the Viceroy disallowing his questions.

A few days after this he wanted to ask a question about the injury done to Sikh religious feelings by the distortions and vilifications of a German missionary, Dr. Trumpp, employed by the government to translate Guru Granth Sahib. This is what an English author and scholar of the eminence of Mr. Macauliffe says about it: "A portion of the (Guru) Granth Sahib was translated some years since by a German missionary at the expense and under the auspices of the India office, but his work was highly inaccurate and unidiomatic, and furthermore gave mortal offense to the Sikhs by the odium theologicum introduced into it. Whenever he saw an opportunity of defaming the Gurus, the sacred book, and the religion of the Sikhs, he eagerly

(39) Priest.

availed himself of it." There could not be a clearer case for asking a question about such a legitimate grievance and requiring redress for it, but the Viceroy simply put his foot on it by disallowing the question on the usual plea that it would not be in public interest to reply to the question.

The encouragement and assistance given by His Highness, the late Maharaja Hira Singh and the present Maharaja, then the Tikka, along with other Sikh princes to Mr. Macauliffe in the preparation of his monumental and world famous work, "The Sikh Religion," has been gratefully acknowledged by the author himself. In helping Mr. Macauliffe, His Highness helped the cause of Sikh history.

His Highness took the matter of the burning of a Sikh Gurdwara in the Jhelum district in August, 1907, by a set of non-Sikh ruffians to the Viceregal Council and secured from the government a promise to make necessary inquiries and punish the guilty persons. But when later on all the accused were discharged by the trying Magistrate on 5th December, 1907, His Highness availed himself of the budget debate to expose the Magistrate's judgment and made a spirited demand once more that the matter should not be allowed to rest there and the real culprits should be arrested and given exemplary punishment.

When discussing the reform schemes under the contemplation of the Government at that time, His Highness, while primarily condemning the introduction of racial or communal considerations as "most unfortunate and undesirable," pressed for just and adequate representation of Sikh interests in the event of communal representation being finally approved of; for the Sikhs, who were not men of words but deeds, had fought the battles of the Empire as well under the burning rays of the sun as on snow-clad mountains.

The Gurdwara Reform Movement, which aims at the Panthic control and management of the Panthic Gurdwaras, has come into existence recently in its present organized form; though it has attained its present depth and volume exactly because reform has been long overdue, the evils sought to be reformed were very great and all efforts of the Sikhs so far had not produced any results. But Maharaja Ripudaman Singh realized the necessity of the reform of public trusts and charities and strived for such reform in his own way so far back as March, 1908, when the late Dr. Rash Behari Ghose made a useful proposal to the select committee on the Code of Civil Procedure Bill, 1908, to the effect that a provision should be added to clause 92 empowering persons interested in any charity to apply summarily for an account of the receipts and expenditure of the funds of the charity. On the rejection of this amendment by the select committee, His Highness made the following protest:

"Before concluding I must confess my great disappointment at the Honorable Dr. Ghose's suggestion regarding to charitable trusts not being accepted. I was under the impression that the select committee would accept and recommend the clause suggested to the Council, but their report is quite silent on this point, which is still more surprising and shows that they have not even touched the subject. The Honorable Mr. Ananda Charlu introduced a bill in this Council in March, 1897, to remedy this evil, but after four years it was eventually withdrawn in 1901, because the Government opposed it and wished that it should not be proceeded with any further. My Lord, I made a few remarks on this subject in my budget speech last year and I need not repeat the same on the present occasion, although I feel bound to say that **Government ought to move, and move before long, in this direction, because**

it is under a moral obligation to see to the proper administration of vast trust funds, which ought to be devoted to such religious and charitable purposes for which they were endowed. The present suggestion of Dr. Ghose was a very modest attempt in this direction, and I wish that Government could have seen its way to accepting it."

When soon after this Dr. Ghose was given leave to introduce his Public Charities Accounts Bill on 20th March, 1908, to attain the same object as that of his attempted amendment, His Highness made the following remarks in support of the bill:

"Last week I expressed my disappointment at Honorable Dr. Ghose's suggestion relating to charitable trusts not being accepted in connection with the Code of Civil Procedure, but I am delighted to find that the Government has been pleased to give leave to the learned doctor to introduce a separate bill to carry out the object which is in view. Although the concluding remarks of the honorable law member's speech at the last meeting of the Council are not very encouraging, yet we have to heartily thank the Government for this practical sympathy which they have shown in the cause of reform. In the papers about the Code of Civil Procedure received in the legislative department an overwhelming majority of the opinion of both Hindus and Mohammadans is to be found supporting the honorable doctor's suggestion. Then again, in view of the fact that persons like the Honorbale Munshi Madho Lal—the guardian and the keeper of the Vedas[40]—gave their hearty support to the proposed reform, and on whose high authority we learned the other day that even an orthodox body of the Hindus like Siri Bharat Dharam Mahan Mandal have addressed the Government on the subject, asking for more facilities to be given by law

(40) Holy books of the Hindus.

for proper control and management of public charities and endowments I have great hopes for the future and I feel almost sure that something will be done in this respect. I wish the Honorable Doctor Ghose every success in this noble cause and I sincerely trust that his bill will not meet the same fate which Honorable Mr. Ananda Charlu's bill met a few years ago. My Lord, the bill which will be introduced by the Honorable Doctor Rashbehari Ghose has my hearty support."

As for the patriotism of His Highness and his love for the national aspirations of Indians, the unbroken chorus of protest that has burst out all over the country against the wrong done to him now, is sufficient proof of the love of all Indians for him, a love which is begotten of his love for them. National leaders like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Kitchlew, Pundit Malavyji, and many others and the whole of the national press have expressed their deep appreciation of his public spirit and independence of charatcer and have expressed their sincere sympathy with the Sikh agitation for the restoration of His Highness to his ancestral Gaddi[41].

This was natural, because the misfortune of the Maharaja is due largely to his patriotism and independence of thought. The newspaper "Aj" of Benares has the following on this aspect of the subject:

"These qualities had brought on him the displeasure of the Government even prior to his ascension to the 'Gaddi' of Nabha. Before the introduction of the reforms, the Maharaja had been a member of the Supreme Legislative Council of India and in that capacity he always sided with the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. During the discussions on the Seditious Meetings Bill[42] he did not lend his support

(41) Throne.
(42) Seditious meeting bill was subsequently enacted into law by the government in face of unanimous opposition from the unofficial members. This is availed of by the government in suppressing free speech in India, while it boasts of upholdng these very principles in England and elsewhere, where the people have sufficient strong voice to be heard of.

to the Government. He raised strong objection against the custom of placing Indian Princes on their 'Gaddi' by an agent of the paramount power. The Maharaja said that he had a natural right to the 'Gaddi' of Nabha and could ill-brook the policy of the Government which makes it appear that a ruler owes his position to the good offices of the British Government. The following incident is cited to show why Sir Louis Dane, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was against the Maharaja. Once this Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was present at the Nabha railway station and the Maharaja went to see him there. But Sir Louis Dane went away without condescending to see the Maharaja at the station. When the Lieutenant-Governor paid his last visit to the Phulkian States, the Maharaja, who could not forget the memory of his insult on a former occasion, wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor that as he (the Maharaja) would not be able to be present in his State on the occasion, no invitation could be extended to the Lieutenant-Governor for coming to Nabha.

When during the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Hindu University of Benares Mahatma Gandhi's speech was characterized by Mrs. Annie Besant as seditious and the Indian Princes left the meeting almost in a body, the one single Indian Prince who had the courage to sit on at the meeting till its close was the Maharaja of Nabha. The Maharaja received no personal title or decoration from the British Government. At a Tilak memorial meeting held at Mussouri, the Maharaja of Nabha had not only presided over the meeting but expressed his sincere esteem and regard for Balgangadhar Tilak and contributed to the memorial fund."

In the Viceregal Council His Highness proved an apt pupil of the revered Indian leader, the late Mr. Gopal Krisna Gokhale, and was conspicuous by his com-

plete identification with the non-official and popular party. In many a tough fight he stood shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Ghose. In the budget debate of 1907, he pressed for better national defense and said: "My Lord, as a Sikh I naturally feel inclined to think first about the defense of my country. I am not going to suggest that our regular army should be increased. I am rather of opinion that mercenary troops alone cannot be relied upon in a moment of grave danger to defend the interests of a great country. Therefore I beg leave to suggest that a scheme should be worked out to create a National Militia and large reserve force ready to serve with the regular troops whenever required. All that I suggest is that a large number of able-bodied young men should receive military training and form a reserve force. It would be a matter of deep regret and disappointment to the well wishers of the country if the people deteriorate in phyiscal strength and the martial instincts of the warlike races of India are allowed to die out. . . . . and hence I beg leave to suggest that in the beginning an experiment should be made in the Punjab, and it can be extended to other provinces of India, when it proves successful. . . . . I venture to suggest that each able-bodied Sikh youth should receive military training."

His Highness, being himself a total abstainer, laid great emphasis on effective measures being taken to suppress the evils of drink and intoxicating drugs. "There is no doubt that temperance associations are doing useful and good work in this country to root out the evil habit, but still a great deal remains to be done which cannot be accomplished without the co-operation and help of the Government. . . . . Their use should be checked by passing some preventive enactment and by raising their prices so high that they may not be within easy reach of men of ordinary means and also their

use should be allowed only at the advice of medical men. . . . . I know that opium and excise duties are two great sources of revenue to the Government, but I may be allowed to remark that this revenue is collected at the expense of the cause of morality."

About the poor third-class passengers in the railway trains, the following from the same budget speech would reveal the sentiments of His Highness: "My Lord, the third-class passengers in this country suffer great inconvenience in the railway journey. We see them frequently struggling for a seat in the already overcrowded compartments, where they are thrust without any regard to the authorized number of passengers allowed to travel in a compartment. They are treated very badly and their condition is very deplorable, indeed, if they have to travel by rail at the time of large gatherings held at several places in connection with the religious festivals. On such occasions they are not treated like human beings, but are huddled together as if they had no feelings. It is awful to see them loaded in goods wagons with no proper ventilation at all. My Lord, now as the Railway Board has made a provision of 568 Lakhs of rupees for rolling stock for the year 1907-08 it is most desirable in the interests of humanity and justice that the inconveniences of the third-class passengers should not be lost sight of, who contribute so largely to swell the railway surplus every year."

When the "Prevention of Seditious Meetings Bill" was placed before the Governor-General's Council in November, 1907, His Highness along with Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, strongly opposed it and when in the end Mr. Gokhale asked for a division His Highness was ranged with Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Ghose, in the minority of three, against the solid block of nine English officials. The speech made by His Highness at that time is given below:

"I may, my Lord, be permitted to make a few observations on this measure, which is now before the Council. It is doubtful whether a law of this kind would help to produce better feelings between the Government and the people. The bill at first was so vaguely drafted that I wondered whether even a meeting of this Council held in a proclaimed area would not also have come under Section 3, Sub-Section (2); therefore it is pleasing to note that some wholesome alterations and modifications have been suggested by the Select Committee. For instance, firstly, that this Act will not be permanently placed on the statute book, and secondly, that a notification made under Section 2, Sub-Section (1), will expire after six months. I had hoped that the bill would be so modified and altered by the Select Committee as to make a silent vote on my part possible, but my hopes have not been realized. The definition of public meeting in Section 3, Sub-Section (1), is very wide, so that even all social and religious meetings may be included, which is most undesirable. Section 3, Sub-Section (2), is also objectionable, because the sanctity of private houses should be respected by the Government, and because interference in the personal affairs of the people is always likely to cause much heart-burning. The wording of Section 3, Sub-Section (3), is vague and likely to cause a great deal of annoyance to the general public and to the law-abiding members of the community, as private gatherings may be included under it, if the wording of this section is allowed to remain as it is. The object of this bill is only to prevent the spread of sedition by public meetings; therefore, that should be quite clearly defined, as in Section 4, Sub-Section (1), the words 'any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement' are too wide in their significance. In Section 4, Sub-Section (3) I regret to note that no clear exception has

been made in favor of meetings of a purely social or religious character; as prohibition of, or the necessity of taking special permission for, religious or social gatherings would cause needless annoyance to the law-abiding and loyal subjects of the Crown. Apart from that, interference on behalf of the Government in the case of purely religious and social meetings would be calculated to cause real ill-feeling. For general purposes the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure being quite sufficient, the scope of this bill should be strictly restricted, and in Section 5 all the words after the word 'disaffection,' and also the same words in the preamble are, in my opinion, quite unnecessary. The objections which I have raised against Section 3, Sub-Section (1), apply with equal force to Section 7 of the present bill. The words 'on any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement' in this section are superfluous and go too far. It is not proper and desirable to interfere with the religious or social affairs of the people, and the bill would lose none of its effects if something were done to prevent needless interference in the case of social or religious gatherings. If the bill is passed at all, these defects should be removed, and the utmost care should be taken to prevent abuse of provisions of the bill by the over-zealous subordinate officials.

"For the above reasons, I am sorry, my Lord, that I have to oppose this bill as it stands."

The whole of India is now aglow with pain and resentment over the Kenya betrayal. India has got a very soft corner in her heart for her children in the Colonies and she has practically made the treatment meted to them as the test of her own status in the Empire. In this respect, too, His Highness comes up to the standard of patriotism. The following spirited plea for the protection of the rights of the Indians in the

Colonies was put up by His Highness in the budget debate of 1908:

"My Lord, I cannot let this opportunity pass without drawing your serious attention to the conditions of Indians in the Transvaal and other British colonies. Everyone knows to what humiliation they were lately subjected in the Transvaal, where they were treated as common criminals. The indignities imposed upon them there were taken to heart by every Indian. No doubt the indomitable will of a few Indians in the Transvaal, never to submit to humiliating ordinances, achieved a great moral victory, but that was only transitory. During the late Boer war Indian troops were sent from here to assist the British, and now when peace has been restored, the poor Indians are not treated like human beings, but as lower animals. It is freely said in speeches and writings that India is the most brilliant jewel in the British Crown, and yet Indians are treated in this manner in other parts of the world which are under British protection. The proclamation of the late Queen Victoria to the princes, chiefs and the people of India says: 'The Indian Asiatic is a man with vivid susceptibilities, with great traditions and a civilization of his own; and we are bound to give him the same respect and sympathy with which we expect to be treated ourselves.' Only the other day I saw a letter from General Gordon to a kind friend of mine, in which he said: 'Government, there is but one way, and it is eternal truth—get into their skins, try to realize their feelings, that is the secret of the Government, that is a great political law as well as an ethical law, and I hope that in all that we do it will not be forgotten.

The treatment to which my countrymen are subjected should not be tolerated. I think it is one of the foremost duties of the British Government to protect

the rights of Indians in the British colonies. The concessions lately made to the Indians in the Transvaal are not quite satisfactory. Under the new arrangements the registration system, which is degrading, is still maintained. It is, perhaps, the irony of fate that India is now so looked down. The colonists who act in the manner complained of, do not seem to remember the fact that when their forefathers were no better than savages, India was in the full glory of her ancient civilization. If free governing colonies can do as they like we must also be allowed to stand up for our rights in whatever portion of the globe they are assailed; and I think our Indian army will be found adequate to protect them here as elsewhere."

Indianisation of services is another burning topic of the day. So early as March, 1908, His Highness pressed for progressive Indianisation in these words: "To associate more and more the children of the soil with the higher administration of the country, both civil and military, is the pressing problem of the day."

There is no doubt that the tension of relations between the Government and the people in India has been actuated by the rudeness and insolence with which many Europeans, official and non-official, treat their Indian fellow subjects of the Empire. There is nothing which wounds the Indian pride more than these insults, but, at the same time, it has to be confessed that one thing which has encouraged such behavior in Europeans is the disgraceful acquiescence of Indians of position and wealth. His Highness is well known for his self-respect and his pride of Indian nationality. It will gladden the heart of any Indian to read his following words which resounded through the Council hall in March, 1908:

"My Lord, I should be failing in my duty if I did not draw your attention to the relations between In-

dians and Europeans which are at present not at all satisfactory. A great deal depends sometimes on the commission or omission of little things. Men of birth and position, men who are received by His Excellency, the Viceroy, are often kept waiting under trees or in the verandahs of officials. The calls of Indian gentlemen are not returned; and yet if to preserve his self-respect, an Indian ceases to call on English officials, he at once becomes a target of suspicion, and is never given a chance of explanation. Indian gentlemen who have to travel by rail are often subjected to rudeness and great difficulties, nay, even sometimes bodily expelled from railway carriages.

It has been said that this idea of equality of treatment is the fruit of English education, but if I may be permitted, I can safely say that to an Indian his izzat[43] has been from time immemorial dearer than life itself.

There is no doubt that title-seekers and policemen even now indulge in insincere flatteries. But it can be safely said that the true well-wishers of the Government are those who speak the truth plainly.

Then, again, European officers do not often show due courtesy and politeness either in writing or in conversation to Indian gentlemen. Their ignorance of Indian manners, customs, religions, language and etiquette, which they do not trouble to study, and consider not worth their while to learn, is a growing evil and goes a long way to make their relations with the people of the country strained. Some Europeans cannot even distinguished an Indian lady's name from a gentleman's. There are also other reasons for the strained relations which now fortunately exist between the Europeans and Indians. Not many years ago the people had a strong faith in British justice, but some recent events are now talked about everywhere, and people draw their own inferences from them. I shall

(43) Honor.

speak only about recent events in my own province. I refer to two cases which are known as the "Rawalpindi rape case" and the "Lahore shooting case." In the former a European station officer and his Mohammadan assistant, who were charged with dishonoring a solitary Hindu woman, were acquitted by a European jury. In the second case a European master kicks his native servant and follows him out of the house with a loaded revolver, which goes off, the servant is hit in the back and dies after a few hours. A European jury finds the shooting to be accidental and the accused gets only six months' imprisonment. There is a popular feeling that the acquittal in the first case was not according to the evidence, and that the sentence on the accused in the second case was too lenient. Suppose the victims in both these cases had been Europeans and the assailants natives, what would have been the result? Yet, my Lord, there is no reason to despair and I am speaking rather feelingly when I assure you that the Indian heart is not at all cold. Treat Indians kindly and sympathetically, encourage them and cheer them with friendly words, and you will find them ready to lay down even their lives for you.

"I have dwelt on this aspect of the question at some length, and my plea for doing so is, that I consider it of supreme importance for the well-being both of Government and the country. I cannot do better than conclude my remarks on this subject, by giving a quotation from the speech of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. On his return to England, after his Indian tour, in the course of a speech at the Guild Hall, he said:

"I cannot help thinking from all I have heard and seen, that the task of governing India will be made the easier if we on our part infused into it a wider element of sympathy. I will venture to predict that to such

sympathy there will be an ever-abundant and genuine response."

The unrestricted export of foodstuffs from India has been frequently opposed by patriotic Indians, especially in times of famine, scarcity and high prices. In 1908 His Highness pressed for restrictions to be imposed on the export of grain. "It seems a pity that grain should be allowed to be exported out of India when children of the soil can hardly buy enough thereof to keep body and soul together. . . . . It would certainly be conducive to the general well-being if in times of scarcity some restrictions were placed on the free exportation of grain."

In the following passage he has given unmistakable proof of his love for the Punjab and its political advancement:

"My Lord, before I pass on to other subjects, I consider it my duty to draw the attention of the Government to the constitution and privileges of the Legislative Council of the Punjab, the province which I have the honor to belong to and represent on this Supreme Council.

"Now that the question of the reform of Indian Legislative Councils is under the consideration of the Government of India, I cannot let the opportunity pass without praying that the rights and privileges now enjoyed by the Legislative Council of the united provinces of Agra nad Audh may be extended to the Punjab. The Punjab cannot be considered in any way less advanced or less intelligent than its sister and neighboring province."

From the extracts and incidents reported above it will be realized that, though occupying the delicate position of a would-be ruler of an important State, and so early as 1907, His Highness entertained views and conducted himself so that he satisfied even at that time

the requirements of the standard of patriotism of to-day, and also that he considered an exalted patriotism as quite consistent with self?respecting loyalty to the Crown, though he distinguished between such loyalty and a slavish submission to the arrogance of every European official.

His Highness has not only acted as a lover and friend of the peoples of India, but has also loyally advocated the cause of the Indian States and aristocracy in the Viceroy's Council. It is yet to be seen how far his brother princes of India are going to do their duty by him in his present difficulty, but it is already clear how he served their cause in 1906-08, when he was on the Council. He urged that, "That relations between the Government and the States are capable of a great deal of improvement. Nothing would win their hearts more than sympathetic treatment, respecting fully their treaty rights, and giving them full independence in matters of internal administration."

Again "Many young men of the India aristocracy cannot proceed to foreign countries for education on account of caste prejudices and other difficulties. . . . . So I beg to suggest that facilities should be afforded to young noblemen to qualify themselves in this country for Indian service in its various forms. . . . . ."

The two extracts about Imperial Service Troops and Imperial Cadet Corps, appended below from his great speech in the Viceroy's Council on 27th March, 1907, will show the fearlessness and earnestness with which he watched the interests of the princes and noblemen of India:

1. "My Lord, now I shall pass on to another subject, I mean the Imperial Service Troops. From the statement which was laid on the Council table in reply to my question, it appears that 23 States in all keep these troops. To any one who is a true patriot, and

more especially to the Indian princes, nothing can be more pleasant and honorable than being associated with the defense of their country and their homes; but, my Lord, if I am not mistaken, the burden seems to me not to be equally divided among them in this respect. I have appended a statement which will show that the annual cost of the upkeep of these troops against the annual income of each State is not uniform, but varies from 1 per cent to 14 per cent. It is true that these troops are the result of voluntary offers of Indian princes, but I cannot help thinking why the Government, in view of their passive requirements, should not consider it proper and advisable that a rule should be laid down in this matter, in order that every one of them should bear an equal share of the burden in proportion to their respective resources. The expenditure of the State for the upkeep of its Imperial troops, in my humble opinion, should not exceed 5 per cent on its annual net income, which will be found adequate for all such purposes. My Lord, it is hoped, that the sound principles that were formulated in the first place by Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdawne more than fifteen years ago, at the time of formation of these troops, the principles that "they will not be swept into the Indian army or treated as though they were the mercenaries of the crown" will be followed in letter and in spirit. These are the words of Lord Curzon; for my part I can only say that whenever the occasion arises not only these Imperial troops but every available resource of each State will be at the disposal of the Government."

2. "My Lord, I want to say a few words about the Imperial Cadet Corps. When this corps was formed great hopes were entertained. It was thought that a move was made in the right direction, that the most honorable military posts had been thrown open to young

noblemen of this country, that the Government had done well in thus taking the people in their confidence, and, what was above all, Your Excellency's illustrious predecessor assured us more than once that all the cadets who passed the required examination would be given commissions in the Indian army. This was surely a stateman-like step which Lord Curzon took to solve a pressing problem of the day. Let us hope that this corps will not only remain as an ornament to the Indian army, to add to the brilliancy of processions on state occasions, but will also fulfil the real object for which it was formed by the late Viceroy."

Since the inception of the recent Gurdwara reform movement His Highness has evinced his moral support for this religious awakening by allowing his subjects full liberty to serve the Guru and the Panth according to the instructions of the Shromani Gurdwara Committee, the custodian of the movement. He did not join the Punjab Government in the "Akali-hunt" of March-April, 1922, when in one week 1700 Sikh workers were arrested all over the Punjab by simultaneous raids, and when some other Sikh States, yielding to official pressure, did join the hunt. In the early days of the Nankana Sahib[44] massacre, Nabha was the only State to

(44) Nankana Sahib is the birthplace of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion, and is named after him. In honor of the first Guru there is built in Nankana a temple to which Sikhs flock in thousands annually to celebrate the birth anniversary of their beloved founder and pay homage to his memory. It is thus a national shrine. Attached to this is a huge property besides thousands of acres of land, which yield enormous yearly income. Like most of the custodians of other temples the custodian of this temple had become extremely corrupted. His character had become extremely demoralized and instead of attending to his duties, he was always busy in the mad pursuit of his personal happiness. Besides being stricken by other vices he was a victim of sexual passion and did not care for the honor and integrity of anyone, when he could gratify his craving by doing so. The huge income derived from Gurdwara property he foolihly lavished on achieving his vicious ends. This was the character of the man, who had been given to act as the high priest of Janam Asthan, as the birthplace of our founder is called, and yet he was responsible to the nation, that had been created by the leader, whose memory this temple enshrined. In order to escape any punishment, which the Sikhs might inflict on him for his untoward acts. it was but natural that he should enlist the sympathy of the all powerful government; a matter quite easy of attainment, provided one has enough money to administer bribes to high officials, which. of course, he gladly did. When the popular movement for the reform of Sikh Gurdwaras was inaugurated, the custodian of this temple became apprehensive of his own fate and with full sympathy of government officials of the eminence of Mr. King, as revealed in the reports of a commission

observe the Martyr's day as a public day, as desired by the Shromani Committee from the whole Panth. Maharaja Ripundman Singh is the only prince in whose state and public offices a Sikh could go about with a black turban and Kirpan without any molestation. Perhaps this has been an eyesore for the Government and this was at the back of the mind of the political officers when they threatened His Highness, as will be evident in the next chapter, with the serious consequences of his connection with the "Anti-British" Akali movement[45]. To what pass things must have come in India if the princes of India cannot serve their religion without offending the Government.

IV.

THE PRESENT AFFAIR.

The roots of the present affair lie in the past. The public spirit and the independence of views and character continually exhibited by the Maharaja Sahib of Nabha in the Governor-General Council, where he completely identified himself with Mr. Gokhale and other patriots, was not relished by the Government. On the death of his late revered father he declined to get himself installed by a political officer, for the Gaddi was

after the occurrence of this tragedy, began to make secret preparations for resisting any move on the part of the Sikhs to dislodge him from the position of trust and honor that he occupied. He collected huge quantities of firearms and ammunitions, besides coal oil, apparently to annihilate the Sikhs, with the assistance of the government, which, in spite of being fully aware of these martial preparation on the custodians part, did not attempt to apply the famous arms act, which is so vigorously and profusedly enforced elsewhere. On the fateful day of February 20, 1921, a batch of armless Sikhs were proceeding to a place near Nankana Sahib to attend a religious meeting. They stopped on their way to pay their respects to this temple. While they were sitting as a congregation in the divine hall reciting religious hymns, the priest's men opened fire and killed as many of these two hundred as their ammunition allowed. The rest were burnt alive. The priest, with a few other assistant ruffians, was arrested and tried for wholesale murder and arson and finally sentenced to hang. But his sentence of death was commuted to life imprisonment by the benevolent viceroy. He is now nominally confined in a prison and has separate quarters as the government is afraid the other fellows might kill him. The heart of either the Viceroy or His Majesty, the King of England, might some day move to such an extent as to give a Christmas or New Year pardon to the perpetrator of a tragedy unparalleled in the annals of the world.

(45) A purely religious movement of the Sikhs for the reform and restoration of their temples to the only rightful owners—the Sikh nation.

an inheritance from his ancestors and not a gift of the British Government. Like an orthodox Sikh of old, he had himself girt with the sword of authority in a congregation of assembled Sikhs in the presence of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib after the recitation of the Ardass, the Sikh prayer. This one gesture sums up the mentality of His Highness, which has evidently not been liked in the Government circles. Later on the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Louis Dane, used him with great discourtesy, as a result of which the self-respect of His Highness did not allow him to seek further opportunities of meeting Sir Louis and providing him with fresh opportunities of insulting His Highness. The consequent inability of His Highness to extend an invitation to Sir Louis to visit the Nabha State gave further umbrage to the Lieutenant-Governor. Thence forward some personal element got mixed up with the attitude of the Punjab Government towards His Highness; and this was handed down to Sir Louis Dane's successor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It does not need a prophet to foretell how a fearless and patriotic Maharaja would appear in the eyes of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of the martial law fame. Sir Michael took up the thread where Sir Louis had left it. On account of the tradition bequeathed by his predecessor, Sir Michael saw every action of His Highness in a peculiar light, so that the personal element in the attitude of the Punjab Government became further accentuated. The remarkable services of His Highness and his State in the last war have been acknowledged even by the Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore, the "Civil and Military Gazette," as is evidenced by the passage quoted in the beginning of the third chapter. But, all the same, His Highness could not please Sir Michael O'Dwyer because His Highness did not agree with all the methods of Sir Michael for pushing on the war preparations .

From the above one will not wonder if one is told that already more than one serious effort was made in the past by the Punjab Government to injure the status of His Highness. Fortunately these efforts did not succeed.

All that pent-up wrath of the official circles at last found a vantage hole in the recent Patiala Nabha dispute. The territories of the two States are not merely contiguous, but literally dove-tailed into each other. In some cases one State has got an island of territory surrounded on all sides by dominion of the other State. Thus occasions for friction between the two States are numerous, especially in view of the unfortunate proverbial jealousy of the Indian States. Disputes have arisen in the past between Patiala and Nabha as they would be between any two neighbors. But in the past disputes had a happy knack of easily settling themselves or dying of insanity; and if they were at all referred to a third party, that party had no axe of its own to grind. But the present dispute seemed to have developed a strange persistency not to get settled. It was an evil day when the two princes allowed themselves to be cajoled into referring their dispute to the Government. For one of them at least it meant only falling into a trap.

All efforts at amicable settlement after the reference to Government and before the actual beginning of the official inquiry proved abortive or rather gave a fatal trend to the whole affair as far as Nabha was concerned. In December, 1922, Sir Ali Iman, who was engaged by His Highness of Nabha to give advice, impelled by a desire to secure peace at any cost, even at the sacrifice of the intrinsic merits of the case, went so far as to actually offer the basis of a proposed settlement. Although his efforts for peace-at-any-price might have been considered laudable from the point

of view of ending further disputes between the two States, yet the sacrifices that his proposal entailed for Nabha were so great that it must be said that the whole proposal from beginning to end was misconceived and a blunder of the first magnitude. Sir Ali Imam actually busied himself in seriously considering a proposed basis of settlement which required from Nabha not only the unreciprocated release and extradition of Patiala subjects and offenders respectively, but an unreserved apology together with the payment of an indemnity fixed by the Maharaja of Patiala and the surrender to the Patiala Durbar of such of the Nabha officials and subjects as might have participated in the alleged offenses committed against Patiala subjects, the list of such Nabha officials to be supplied by the Patiala Durbar. Although realizing that even a most limited acceptance of these terms by Nabha Durbar would, to use his own words, "amount to self-condemnation, and as complete stultification of its own position, he still pursued his inexplicable chase of so called peace. It is strange that the negotiation of such a peace was considered by Sir Ali as the right exercise of the authority given him by his principal to settle terms of peace "consistent with the dignity and self-respect of the Nabha Durbar."

It is difficult to doubt the legal acumen of the ex-law member, and it is still more difficult to doubt his honesty of purpose. But it is impossible to explain how he gave his consent to such terms, even though his consent was subject to the sanction of His Highness; and also why he and Mr. Hassan Imam brought so much persuasion to bear upon the unwilling Maharaja to signify a conditional concurrence when Sir Ali has recorded his conviction that the Nabha cases could be successfully fought before a judge. The way in which the whole thing fell through leads to but one

conclusion that Sir Ali Imam let himself easily walk into the trap laid for creating evidence which may make it possible to be averred with some semblance of truth that His Highness had made a practical confession and submission. Sir Ali Imam might imagine that the conversations being without prejudice would have no effect upon a high court judge, but how could Patiala and the Political Department. Sir Ali can only plead his bona fides; and that is all. Another fact that he forget their inevitable effect upon the minds of is not easy to explain is the omission of reference to Mr. Justice Stuart of some very strong cases of Nabha.

The only other alternative to the "trap" theory is that the prospect of a private settlement—however prejudicial to one side, was distasteful to the Government of India and hence it did not give its sanction for the stoppage of the official inquiry—which stoppage was the sole purpose of the attempted settlement, and the inquiry opened at Ambala on the 3rd January, 1923. brushing aside all attempts at settlement. The following telegrams to Sir Ali Imam from the Prime Minister of Patiala, dated the 1st January and 2nd January, 1923, respectively, will show that Patiala Darbar strongly hoped for Government's orders to stop inquiry:

(a) "Expecting orders of Government for stoppal of enquiry."

(b) Agent Governor-General strongly recommended postponement enquiry pending reply from Government. Am returning Patiala.

The governmnt of India was approached definitely for postponement of inquiry at the latest on the 29th December, 1922, if not much earlier, and it could not make up its mind in five days in such an important matter, so that the agent to the Governor-General, Pun-

jab States wired to the Foreign Secretary, Nabha, on the 3rd January, 1923, from Lahore as follows:

"Government decision regarding proposed settlement doubtful. Meanwhile, in absence of definite orders from Government of India, understand inquiry will proceed."

Sir Ali Imam regretfully records on the 2nd of February, 1923, that the inquiry "is proceeding at Ambala without cessation and **thereby giving the two Darbars no opportunity to settle their differences amicably. I cannot but deplore the decision of the Government of India to disregard the strong recommendation of Colonel Minchin, A. G. G.[46] to postpone the enquiry."**

So the inquiry was begun at Amballa by Justice Stuart of the Allahbad High Court on January 3rd and went on till about the 3rd of May. During the course of the inquiry His Highness of Nabha was naturally subjected to great worry and mental strain. There are very good reasons to believe that in the month of February, 1923, when he was staying at Delhi, some interested persons had some physic given to him which gradually paralyzed his power of determination and clear thinking. His worries were further aggravated by the sudden and unexpected desertion of a number of his old and much regarded servants as a result of bribery. The effect of worry, foul play and man's ingratitude upon him may be gauged from the fact that once in those days at Delhi, out of sheer mental strain and exhaustion, His Highness did not stir out of his bedroom and went practically without any nourishment or exercise for three days uninterruptedly. On his return to Nabha he was in much the same state of mind during the hot months of May and June.

In this state of enervated health, physical and mental, his officials and other persons of standing, engaged for the purpose of giving advice, whose real motives

(46) Agent of the Governor-General.

have been revealed by later events and who were doubtless acting on inspiration from outside, kept continually pestering His Highness with false and exaggerated descriptions of the dangers yawning before him and went on pressing various suggestions of the advisability of attempting a settlement once more, though this time by making approaches to Government with offers of relinquishment of the administration of his State in some form or other. A mere study of the numerous drafts and up from all sides for the edification of His Highness would reveal the common objective of all these schemes. They had one common feature, i. e., they tended to enhance the personal status and power of those advisers and the rights of intervention of the representatives of the Government in the administration of the State. It was the panic created by those officials and advisers which led to the sending of a scheme to Government on 21st April, 1923, and of another on the 4th May, 1923. Although keeping in view the manner in which their dispatch was brought about the value of these proposed schemes was nil, yet it is noteworthy that it is understood that they fell under quite a different category from the present forced severance, inasmuch as those schemes contemplated only temporary and short-lived absence of His Highness from the State, ultimate resumption being definitely intended. Moreover, recuperation of health was the main object.

The State officials further kept urging upon him the necessity of attempting a settlement by meeting the political agent, Colonel Minchin, and supported the suggestions with imperfectly veiled threats. It could be suspected that these suggestions and threats really proceeded from the political officials. Mr. J. P. Thompson, the "right-hand man" of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, was the political secretary to the Government of India,

and Lieutenant-Colonel Minchin the agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States. No wonder, then, that His Highness was brought round by threats of danger to write to the A. G. G. inviting him to Nabha for an exchange of views, and on the latter's expressing his inability to go to Nabha and fixing the 5th of June, 1923, for an interview at Kasauli, the State officials did not rest till they had seen him leaving for Kasauli.

The enemeis of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh won their first victory when they succeeded in imposing upon Sir Ali Imam; they scored another victory when they succeeded in forcing His Highness into an interview with Colonel Minchin at Kasauli on 5th June, 1923, in order to enable that capable A. G. G. to open the campaign of official intimidation. It is absolutely untrue what is stated in the Government communique of 7th July that His Highness sought an interview with the agent **of his own free will and accord** and that in the interview His Highness **"voluntarily expressed his willingness to sever his connection with the State."** The fact is that by an insidious campaign of threats his officials and others of questionable integrity rushed him into meeting the agent, and that in that meeting the agent urged him to abdicate and threatened worse consequences if he did not. His Highness refused to do so, and preferred a reference to the Viceroy. **But the agent refused to entertain this suggestion,** which is very significant, and asked His Highness to let him have a reply by the morning of the 7th June, at the latest.

What little determination was left in the Maharaja in that state of health and in those unusual circumstances of the situation was undermined by his inspired and interested officials, who took up exactly the same line of threatening as the agent and with their unanimity and their importunity succeeded in making him

feel that some approximation to the demands of the agent was the only alternative left; for instance, the entrusting of the administration to **Ministers** appointed by His Highness in consultation with the Government of India, and such arrangement to be in force for a fairly long time. Information of this successful impressing of the Maharaja was conveyed to the agent by Mr. D. M. Narasingarao, the Chief Minister, and Mr. Sen, the Foreign Minister, of Nabha State, who went to Kasauli on the 7th June as required by the agent. According to the report of this interview by these two officials, **the agent demanded that the State should be handed over to the British Government, who would appoint a civilian officer to administer the State till the Tikka Sahib attained majority.** He added, "the papers of some cases for future inquiry had reached the Viceroy who, however, had not been able to see them owing to pressure of work. Once he sees them and passes orders, **even abdication would be too late.** The Viceroy might pass orders on any day and hence the extreme urgency in the matter. He thought **that deposition and something like imprisonment were most likely, but the Government of India had given a chance to H. H. for private settlement merely with a view to avoid the odium of punishing a ruler.** This was **the last chance and it would be only day-after-tomorrow, i. e., 9th instant.** They should return immediately and acquaint H. H. with the utmost seriousness and extreme urgency of the matter." As if maintaining all the while that the main issue was some quarrel which he, the agent, imagined that the British Government had with the Maharaja, to settle which a submission on the part of the Maharaja to the agent's demands mentioned above was necessary, the agent went on to say, "it is necessary **at the same time** to settle differences with Patiala by accepting Sir Ali Imam's terms and also paying an in-

demnity to Patiala. He wished, in view of extreme urgency, that they should follow him to Simla so that he may take them to Mr. Thompson, Political Secretary to the Government of India." So when Messrs. Rao and Sen met the agent in the afternoon of the same day at Simla, he said to them he had already seen Mr. Thompson and ascertained his views, the trend of which was to further stiffen the terms demanded by the agent. His Highness was to have no voice in any State appointments and **could not visit Nabha without permission.** He could not be allowed a house at Simla as it **was not considered desirable that he should live in the Punjab.** His only son may see him **occasionally,** but the boy should be **independent of association** with him. Mr. Thompson also wished to fix the indemnity payable to Patiala at 40 lakhs; Patiala, he stated, having spent as much as 30 lakhs in connection with the inquiry. The disparity between the figures of Mr. Thompson and the sum of 50 lakhs later estimtaed by Government as the maximum amount for the indemnity is difficult to reconcile, leaving aside the question of the propriety of the estimate of 30 lakhs advanced by Patiala as their expenses on the inquiry. The agent continued, says the report: "These arrangements must take effect **immediately, i. e.,** within 4 or 5 days, otherwise His Excellency would pass orders in ten days." Therefore he wanted that His Highness should reach Kasauli on **the morning of the 9th June, if not earlier,** and give the agent documents in his own hand-writing about **settlement with the Government of India and Patiala.**

Here it is necessary to attend to a fact which is both important and remarkable. There is not the least reference, direct or indirect, to any other complaints against the Maharaja in the resolution of the Government of India on Mr. Justice Stuart's inquiry and the

severance of the Maharaja from Nabha State, nor in the Government communique of July 7 based on the resolution. The Government of India has confined itself to the interstate dispute. But, on the contrary, from the very first meeting between His Highness and the agent on the 5th June, Colonel Minchin has throughout been following a preposterous method in dealing with His Highness and his affairs. Not only did the agent drag in false, imaginary and, as far as the matter in question was concerned, absolutely irrelevant grievances of the Government against the Maharaja, but he had the audacity to require what he called a settlement with the Government of India **in priority** to what was the real issue, i. e., settlement with Patiala. This speaks volumes about the objective and the methods of the Political Department in this affair. The tenacity of purpose and the sustained effort of Colonel Minchin, in constantly keeping before the Maharaja's eye the primary necessity of settling his accounts, as it were, with the Government of India, and at the same time continually threatening the disasterous consequences of not doing so, contrast so strangely with the silence of the Government of India about any such matter in official documents. It may, however, be safely assumed that if the Government had any such complaints against the Maharaja and wanted a settlement of these as well as of the interstate dispute, they would have somewhere made some reference to it in their resolution or communique or stated them directly or officially.

It is not to be wondered that the combined efforts and threats of his officials within the State and the Government officials outside drove His Highness, in the condition of health, physical and mental, in which he was at the time, to meet the agent again on the 9th June at Kasauli as demanded by the agent. The agent

had wired to His Highness on 8th June urging that "immediate action was essential." Not content with this he wired again on the 9th June requiring His Highness to wire his decision, **"otherwise matters will take their course."**

When His Highness had been in this way driven into the presence of the agent at Kasauli on the 9th June, then to crown all threats the agent faced him with a cypher telegram from Mr. Thompson, Political Secretary to Government of India, dated June 7, Simla, and described it as conveying ORDERS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE VICEROY, to demand the terms detailed therein from His Highness, failing the acceptance of which terms most serious consequences would follow for His Highness. The agent placed before His Highness a draft statement purporting not only the surrender of his State but something worse, and said that it had been drawn up in accordance with the telegraphic orders of the Viceroy, and required His Highness to sign that statement. That was the last straw. With a few verbal emendations it was got signed from the Maharaja.

Here the question arises what the reality of these mysterious orders of the Viceroy is. We should wait till His Excellency, the Viceroy, has taken the public into his confidence and explained the reality of that cypher telegram. It is much to be desired that His Excellency should now break the vow of silence that he has so far observed against the challenge of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, dated 2nd August, and either admit the truth or nail the contentions of the committee to the counter.

To resume the thread of our narrative, the agent did not rest at what he achieved on the 9th June, but he sent for Messrs. Rao and Sen the next morning, i. e., 10th June, and dictated further terms amounting prac-

tically to divesting His Highness more or less completely of nearly all his property and funds. The agent threatened that if the new and additional terms were not accepted, the letter of the 9th June would be cancelled and the whole thing would fall through, and that all those serious consequences that he had been threatening would then ensue. This paper, too, His Highness was forced to sign by Colonel Minchin, who wrote peremptorily, "the matter must be settled at once," and further that the letter required by him must be signed by the Maharaja **"in front of him."** He himself came down to the place where the Maharaja was putting up, and there repeated the same threats and eventually got the letter signed.

The growing success of the efforts to ruin him prostrated the Maharaja more than ever before. At the same time there are very good reasons to believe that his officials corresponded secretly with the officials of the Political Department and discussed with them without his authority important and confidential matters of State, and received encouragement from them in various forms. This also applies to Mr. O'Grady, an employee of His Highness, who appears later on the scene in this affair, but makes up for all his late coming by the rapidity with which he precipitates the end, and for which he gets congratulations from a high political officer of the Government of India. Not only that, it is an open secret now that some very high officials of the Nabha State were regularly submitting secret reports to the political officers. This back-door collusion of the representatives of the Government of India with the employees of an allied State can scarcely be called an honorable business. This belief is further strengthened by the disproportionate advancement conferred by the new administration of Nabha on some of those officials of His Highness, and

also by those officials coming out from behind the veil into the open to assist in the campaign now started in Nabha to defame His Highness by making false fabrications against him. Therefore after his visit to Kasauli on the 9th June, whenever His Highness mustered up resolution to think of means of remedying the blunder which he had been forced to commit by putting his signature to the letters of the 9th and 10th June, his officials conjured up studiously before his eyes, with added apprehensions, all the consequences threatened by the agent. Nay, the State officials even urged him to fetter his liberty of movement and commit himself before the Government of India to the promise that he would leave India only with their permission and that he would not "raise any question with the authorities in England about his State or his status." These and other suggestions of those officials strangely made appearance among the conditions which His Highness was later confronted with by the agent in his letter dated the 28th June. It is difficult to resist the temptation of concluding that the draft proposals of the State officials were wholly inspired by the Political Department.

While this struggle between the sedulously insolated and enervated ruler of Nabha on the one hand and the solid phalanx of disingenuous State officials strong in the consciousness of the powerful political backing behind them on the other, was going on, the agent wired on the 27th June desiring Mr. Rao to see him at Kasauli "urgently" about "extremely important matters." Messrs. Rao and Atma Ram, the Naib Dewan[47], went to see him on the 9th June when Colonel Minchin handed to Mr. Rao a signed letter which laid down the conditions imposed by the Government of India, further stiffened by the Secretary of State for India. Colonel Minchin, according to the report of that inter-

(47) Assistant Premier; a minister.

view written by Mr. Rao, Chief Minister, said "that the matter was most emergent and that the Government of India had everything cut and dry now." "He wished to have a letter from H. H. to the effect that he agrees with the ten conditions **imposed** by the Government of India, as specified in the letter, and (that he) formally undertakes to abide by them. He asked me to wire to him tomorrow (30th June) after getting the letter signed by H. H., that the Maharaja had signed the letter which was being sent by special messenger in a motor the same day. I complained of shortness of time. He said that there was no help for it as in the event of delay **the Government of India would pass orders deposing the Maharaja and authorizing him to remove him to Dehra Dun under a military guard.** He specially asked me to mention this straightaway to H. H. to save all chances of mistake or of doubt. **He added he would then take forcible charge of the State and make inquiries against H. H. with a view to his prosecution before a tribunal.** He repeated that the Viceroy had reluctantly agreed to accept the arrangement as **the idea was to make an example of H. H. and the Secretary of State had also given expression to similar views.** He remarked that **even without prosecution his fate would be that of a deposed prince and interned prisoner,** with an allowance not exceeding one lac of Rupees a year. After prosecution his lot would be much worse. . . . . H. H. should leave Nabha the next day after Colonel Minchin and the administrator arrived there . . . . . Colonel Minchin said he had been authorized by the Government of India to take with him to Nabha as many British troops as he liked." The agent also expatiated on numerous details such as the elaborate surrendering of not only the scrip of the English securities and sale deeds of all house properties, but of cars, horse carriages and riding horses, as

if to scrupulously strip the Maharaja of all that was valuable and to bring about deprivation and humiliation.

Colonel Minchin's letter, dated 28th June, referred to above, and handed to Mr. Rao on the 29th was conveyed to the Maharaja on the 30th of June. And then the upper and the nether stones of the mill began to move simultaneously with all possible speed. The agent sent telegram after telegram demanding acceptance. He wired on the 1st July, on the 2nd July and again on the 3rd July in quick succession; saying that Government were pressing for immediate reply; they must have immediate answer about acceptance or refusal of terms; that the Maharaja must come to an immediate decision because the Viceroy would await his acceptance of terms only up to Thursday night, 5th July.

To supplement this pressure the State officials continued urging and threatening. At this time some devout Sikhs, unconnected with the State but disinterested well wishers of His Highness and the State, wanted to warn the Maharaja against his State officials and the consequences of what he had been led to do by them. But as soon as the State officials came to know of this they lost no time in making endeavors to malign them and to hasten the Maharaja again to accept the terms of surrender demanded of him. They closed upon him like a vice. On the 1st July five of the highest officials, Messrs. Rao, Sen, Atma Ram, Gurdial Singh and Hari Ram went to the length of handing to the Maharaja a written document urging him to accept Government's ten conditions, otherwise "Government were quite prepared to take drastic action against him," and "dishonor, prosecution, internment and other grave consequences would follow." No hope should be built on the "empty right of appeal," for "the Secretary of State would not interfere with the decision of Lord Read-

ing in the matter of the kind, in the event of an appeal." So, "in the circumstances His Highness should accept the 10 conditions forthwith." In the end they said, they had "kept a copy of the document with them for reference;" perhaps for reference to political officers to prove their "loyalty" to the British Government. This document was followed in hot haste by another letter from Mr. Sen to the effect that it would be most fatal and dangerous step under the existing circumstances and at that critical juncture to listen to any extraneous advice or to avail of any extraneous help of any Sikh organization, for he was sure that Government would make use of that fact against him. Perhaps Mr. Sen was obsessed with the prospective fear of the Shromani Gurdwara Committee getting wind of the truth of the case and the conjoint activity of the Nabha officials and the political officers.

As if this was not enough the redoubtable Mr. O'Grady suddenly appeared on the scene to forge the last link of the chain which ultimately encompassed the Maharaja. There is something unearthly in the suddenness with which this evil comet flashed into the path of the Maharaja from the heights of Simla, and the rapidity with which it disposed of his fate with one sweep of its ominous tail. Mr. O'Grady wired to the Maharaja on the 3rd July from Simla warning him of disastrious consequences if they did not meet before Thursday, 5th July. A car brought him down to Nabha, where he gave out something startling: that the inclusion of the new condition of "loyalty" in the agent's letter of June 28 as contrasted with the earlier document of 9th June was a clever move to make it impossible for the Maharaja to refuse to accept the terms of June 28, for it would be said that he had accepted all other terms on the 9th and 10th June and that refusal later on meant only a refusal to submit to the

"loyalty" condition. Then the Maharaja would be at once tried for disloyalty and rebellion and as a punishment may be shot. Whatever one might think of such a threat after the event, but bearing in mind all that had passed over the Maharaja up to that time and the accessibility of Mr. O'Grady to the agent and the Political Secretary to the Government of India, the effect of this threat on the Maharaja can be imagined. His Highness was, after all, driven to allow a wire to be sent to the agent by Sardar Gurdial Singh on the 5th July informing him that the letter of acceptance demanded by him would be delivered to him the next day. At this time Mr. O'Grady, of his own initiative, sent a wire to Major O'Gilvie, Deputy Political Secretary, Simla, under a code name for the sender, intimating that the conditions had been accepted by His Highness as if Mr. O'Grady had been commissioned by that officer to get the conditions accepted and it was his duty to report the progress of events to him.

It is understood that the letter of His Highness, dated the 5th of July, written in submission to the demand of Government, sums up the truth very concisely about his condition of health, the compulsion exerted upon him to accept the conditions imposed and the helplessness to which he was reduced by the conspiring of so many circumstances created round him. His Highness is understood to have concluded by saying that **"he recognized that nothing was left to him but to make the submission demanded by him. . . . . and to accept the terms imposed by His Excellency, the Viceroy."** The letter is called the letter of abdication by Government. We are confident that one thing which will definitely settle the question of voluntariness or otherwise of the severance of His Highness from his state is the publication of this important letter by the Government. Let the Government silence the Sikhs

forever by publishing this letter instead of trying to gag their mouths with blind repression.

The agile Mr. O'Grady took this letter away almost immediately on the 6th of July, after His Highness' signature. However, realizing at that late hour the blunder of submitting to intimidation and the subtle influences at work against him, and also moved by the grave and sudden consternation of the whole family, His Highness decided to arrest the delivery of that letter by sending Messrs. Gurdial Singh and Hari Ram in his fastest car after Mr. O'Grady with peremptory orders to bring back the letter at all costs. They overtook him at Ambala, but he refused to return the letter and, curiously enough, the emissaries meekly took that refusal and quietly returned to Nabha after midnight of the 6th July. This one action of the parties concerned is enough to reveal their motives and their mentality.

Realizing that the letter had fallen into the hands of the relentless agent, Colonel Minchin, early in the morning of the 7th of July and that he would not let go the advantage seized by him, and observing that the State officials had begun to openly disregard His Highness' directions, the Maharaja would naturally for the time being feel non-plussed. Before he could devise means of achieving the purpose frustrated by the action of Messrs. O'Grady, Gurdial Singh and Hari Ram, suddenly early in the morning of the 8th July Colonel Minchin and Mr. O'Gilvie took him, as if it were, by storm. Without apprising the Maharaja they appeared before his palace of Hira Mahal at about half past five in the morning with an absolutely unnecessary, unjustified show of military force, designed to humiliate him and to precipitate the whole situation. Notwithstanding the official avowal of voluntary severance, the Maharaja was treated like a rebel and a prisoner. It is obvious

that the manner in which the possession of the administration of the State was taken is tantamount to a tacit admission by Government that it recognized that the severance was anything but voluntary. It can scarcely be credited that the well-informed and astute officials of the Government entrusted with the matter were so hopelessly ignorant of the state of affairs in the capital of Nabha State or that they really apprehended an Akali rising, to meet which contingency Colonel Minchin said he had brought the troops. We credit the intelligence arrangements of the Government of India with greater efficiency. Colonel Minchin himself confessed later on that no Akali had been unearthed. The colonel forced entry through the palace gates by threatening to fire at the guard who rightly hesitated to let in a stranger with troops without taking his master's permission. An unbroken cordon of soldiers was drawn up round the palace proper and soldiers were stationed behind every bush. Colonel Minchin and others penetrated the palace unannounced and went about from room to room and thus showed the greatest discourtesy to the Maharaja.

His Highness was compelled to get ready within a few hours to depart from Nabha on the morning of the 9th July. The same morning a Durbar was held to announce the change, but it is significant that His Highness was not invited to hand over the administration formally in that Durbar, as he should certainly have been invited if the Government itself had seriously believed that the severance was voluntary. Colonel Minchin in his preliminary speech in that Durbar used the words that the Maharaja had made his "submission" to the Government of India, as if a rebel had submitted and laid down arms, and not as the Government avows that a voluntary severance had been made by a prince. Again, there is but one inference that can be

drawn from Colonel Minchin's declaration at the end of the Durbar that any state subject found communicating with the Maharaja would be sternly dealt with. Was he an outlaw being forcibly exiled? In this connection it is necessary to refer to two more facts: first, the strange condition imposed upon His Highness not to go to England without permission of the Government, as if to prevent him from attempting a reversal of his virtual deposition, and secondly, the attempt of Colonel Minchin to force the Maharaja with threats to sign a draft, brought by the colonel on 31st July to His Highness' bungalow at Dehra Dun, purporting that His Highness' severance from his State was entirely voluntary and was made after full consideration and that His Highness did not want the restoration of his ruling powers. The above facts completely knock the bottom out of the official case of "voluntary severance."

It should be realized that, besieged as he was altogether unawares on the morning of the 8th July, His Highness and his family would, at the moment, be entirely concerned about the protection of their personal honor and self-respect, and find it impossible to make any mention of their desire or attempt to withdraw the final letter of 5th July which had been hurriedly carried away by Mr. O'Grady. Nor did the tyrannical behavior of Colonel Minchin that day leave any doubt as to the futility of any such protestation. They were forced to submit to the inevitable out of sheer helplessness.

After His Highness' departure on 9th July an unparalleled insult was offered to the proud house of Phul by Colonel Minchin, who, in spite of the indignant protests of the senior Maharani Sahiba violated the sanctity of the Royal Zenana by forcibly entering the Pakka Bagh—a collection of palaces—by penetrating into the interior of a number of palaces, by locking the gates

himself, and shutting up the ladies inside, putting a military guard on them, by forbidding entry or exit and by starving the royal inmates. A few days after, to add insult to injury, he was brazen-faced enough to get a message delivered to the senior Maharani that if the incident of the Pakka Bagh were not reported to the press, he would try to help the Maharaja. Such insults as this affair of the Pakka Bagh sink deep and burn themselves into the heart. It is doubtful whether adequate amends can ever be made for such things. This and similar incidents have permanently affected the relations of the Sikhs with the British, and it is no use concealing the fact.

When at Dehra Dun, away from the presence of his corrupt officials and the bullying of the political officers, and with the return of better health, His Highness seems to have recovered his presence of mind and vigor of will, for he gave an unmistakable proof of it when on the 31st of July His Highness refused to sign the document placed before him by Colonel Minchin, as referred to above, although Colonel Minchin used the name of the Government of India, tried all sorts of threats and desperately wrestled with His Highness in the presence of the royal family. To give him only one day, the 8th June—between the return of Messrs. Rao and Sen from Simla and the second meeting of H. H. with the agent at Kasauli on the 9th June—to decide his fate, and then to ask him to declare that he had done it after full consideration; to ply him with threats and insidious intimidation from all sides, and yet to expect him to admit that he had abdicated of his own free will and accord; to drive him out of his State and to force him to undertake to pay an unheard of indemnity of 50 lacs and then to ask him to cut his own throat a third time by disavowing all desire for his restoration to his Raj——this is adding a grave in-

sult to a grievous injury. Could arrogance go any further? The limit was passed on the 31st of July; and without pretending to prophesy, we might say that the future will show that Government over-reached itself on that fateful day.

The whole game, as one would now envisage it, may be summed up briefly thus. The enemies of His Highness succeeded in undermining the integrity of practically all the principal officials of Nabha. And the triple alliance between his rivals in the interstate dispute, his own corrupted officials and lastly, some high-placed Government officials sedulously built up around him a tyranny of hallucination by systematic suggestion and intimidation in his condition of shattered health and gradually narrowed the circle and pressed him, into the presence of the agent on 5th June last, and thence forward the direct campaign of official pressure and intimidation was started. Once they had him on the run, their sole anxiety was not to let him rest. He was tossed to and fro between the two walls of corrupt State employees and determined Government officials; and every buffet from each side was harder than the one preceding. At every stage the demand was more and more stiffened till in Mr. O'Grady, in the words of Milton:

"Comes the blind fury with the abhorred shears and slits the thin-spun life."

The venom of the old political regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's time has combined with the venom of the new regime to bring about the Maharaja's ruin on the convenient and opportune basis of the interstate dispute.

V.

THE CONCLUSION.

It is necessary in the first place to say a word of protest against the open campaign, countenanced by

State and Government officials, which is being carried on in Nabha to fabricate false complaints against His Highness and to keep up a disreputable propaganda to defame him. Letters have been published in the press by the officials of the State, which are obviously of no value, but the connivance or rather countenance of such things by the Government which has passed the Princes Protection Act in the teeth of public opposition by the extraordinary procedure of certification is a significant phenomenon.

It is also necessary to point out that so far as the question of defects in the internal administration is concerned, even the inquiry (although about that, too, Nabha has had grievances) shows that, if at all, as much could be said against one State as against the other. But the upshot is that whole one goes unscathed, the other has been ruined and denied a fair opportunity of mending her own house.

To finally dispose of the threats that if the present severance had not come about—rather had not been brought about—then the orders passed by the Government of India on the findings of Mr. Justice Stuart would have entailed deposition, etc., for Nabha, it is enough only to give below the conclusions of the Government of India which put the Nabha side of the case in the worst possible light, but yet we make bold to affirm that after studying the extract any impartial observer would unhesitatingly declare that the Government had not got even the shred of a case for severe punitive measures, much less the drastic step of deposition. Nothing can be more fair on our part than to give the case of the Government as they themselves have put it:

"9. Of the charges set out in the eight annexures the findings have been against the Nabha Darbar on six. The Ishwar Kau case (Annexure III) has fallen to the

ground, and in the horse case (Annexure IV), the least important of all, the Patiala Darbar have failed to establish that any offense was committed. **In one case only (Annexure II) was there a violation of territorial rights, and though the acts of the Nabha officials in that case call for censure, they are of little moment when compared with the revelations which have been made in Mr. Justice Stuart's report as a result of his inquiry into the six cases in which he has found against Nabha.** Mr. Justice Stuart has in the main dealt with the cases individually, recording separate findings on each. It is left to the Government of India to synthetize the results and to draw its own inferences from the features which the cases possess in common.

The first of those features is that in all the cases in which the finding of the Special Commissioner is adverse to Nabha, the Nabha story is definitely false. In four of these cases (the cases against Abdul Aziz, Muhammad Yaqup and Abdul Latif, and the Nabha version of the Jiundan incident), the story has been deliberately fabricated by the Nabha police, and in the Pehdani case, it is clear that certain authorities in Nabha have supported a story which is false, though circumstances have prevented their putting the case into their own courts.

The second common feature is that all the fabrications and falsities have been aimed at one object, the injuring of Patiala. In the cases against Muhammad Yaqub and Abdul Aziz, Patiala officials were the victims. In this case against Abdul Latif, the victim was suspected of being a Patiala spy. In the Burga case an attempt has been made to implicate a Patiala sub-inspector, and in the Jiundan case, if the Nabha version had been believed, it would have meant that a number of Patiala police officers had been guilty of serious offenses.

Thirdly, in all the cases in which the Nabha police have brought into court charges fabricated against persons connected with Patiala, the cases have been prosecuted to conviction in the Nabha courts on evidence which was utterly inadequate, and in circumstances which necessarily imply the complicity of judicial officers in the injustice which was perpetrated.

These three features show a deliberate perversion, by highly placed officials in the State, of the whole machinery for the administration of justice, for the purpose of damaging Patiala.

Ever since the present Maharaja of Nabha succeeded his father, the Government of India have had abundant evidence that the whole policy of the State has been dominated by his personality, and it is inconceivable that the perversion of justice could have been reduced to a system of offense against Patiala, without the Maharaja's full general approval and active countenance. It is not, of course, to be expected that the Patiala Darbar would be able, or the Nabha Darbar willing, to produce specific proofs of this in every individual case. But it has been shown in Abdul Aziz's case that the Maharaja, in spite of having been given ample opportunity of seeing that the wrong was righted, allowed the proceedings to take their course, while in the case of Muhammad Yaqub, **there is a definite finding that the false story in both its stages was false to the knowledge of the Diwan, and it is safe to assume in such matters that what was known to the Diwan was known to the Maharaja.**

10. The Government of India must express the strongest condemnation of the state of affairs which the inquiry has revealed. **In the written arguments presented to the Special Commissioner, stress is laid on the independence of the State in its internal affairs. The Darbar have apparently forgotten that the Sanad**

of 1860 does not merely confer privileges, but that it also imposes obligations. Under clause IV, the ruler of Nabha is bound to "exert himself by every possible means in promoting the welfare of his people and the happiness of his subjects and redressing the grievances of the oppressed and injured in the proper way," Clauses V and X bind him to loyalty and obedience to the British Crown and the British Government in India. All these obligations have been broken. **The deliberate perversion of justice is a clear breach of Clause IV, the forcible infraction of Patiala's territorial rights is a breach of allegiance to the Crown,** and the deliberate orientation of the policy of the Darbar towards the prosecution by force and fraud of the Darbar's own feud with its neighbor is a breach of the spirit of the well-known canon which prohibits hostilities between States.

The Government of India has been unable to trace any instance in the past in which they have been called on to pass orders on a case parallel to the present one, and they cannot conceive any more subtle or insiduous form of oppression than the deliberate and methodical perpetration of injustice under cover of legal forms. It is not necessary to record here the measures which the Government of India would have been compelled to take in this case, because, while these measures were under consideration, the Maharaja of Nabha on his own initiative visited the agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States at Kasauli and voluntarily expressed his desire to sever his connection with the administration of the State upon certain conditions. The Governor-General in Council has felt some hesitation in accepting this offer; but after a careful examination of the circumstances he has come to the conclusion that if certain necessary conditions are imposed, the offer

may be accepted and that the advantages of a speedy settlement outweigh other considerations."

The depth of feeling stirred in the heart of the Sikh community by the Nabha affair may be imagined from the fact that on the 5th and 6th of August the Sharomni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee unanmously passed the following resolutions:

"(1.) The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee records its considered opinion that the Government of India has deliberately taken advantage of the Patiala-Nabha dispute to wrest the administration of Nabha State from His Highness Maharaja Ripduman Singh Malvinder Bahadur, that to effect that purpose threats and intimidation have been used by Government officials to force His Highness to sever his connection with the administration of the State on humiliating terms, and that this decision of Government is vindictive, unjustified and absolutely uncalled for, even if, for the sake of argument, the charges brought against His Highness in the official inquiry made by Justice Stuart be supposed to have been proved. The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is convinced that this action taken by Government against a Sikh State of great historical and religious traditions and an orthodox, self-respecting Sikh Prince is calculated to give a severe blow to the Pathic orthodoxy, organization and well being. Therefore the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee severely condemns this move on the part of Government as a side attack on the reform movement of which the Shromani Committee is custodian, and sends its full and affectionate sympathy to His Highness, his family, and his subjects in their present affliction.

(2.) The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee resolves to hereby authorize its Executive Com-

mittee to get the wrong done to Nabha and the Panth righted by all peaceful and legitimate means.

(3.) The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee views with disgust the behavior of those persons who. having eaten his salt, have acted treacherously towards His Highness, the Maharaja Sahib of Nabha during the inquiry about the interstate disputes in order to help in the forcible severance of His Highness from the State. The committee also condemns the activities of those who, taking advantage of the helplessness of Sis Highness, are carrying on a false and malicious propaganda to defame and discredit him.

The committee expresses its heartfelt sympathy with those who are being persecuted in Nabha on account of their loyalty to their master.

Previous to the passing of these resolutions, the whole Sikh community had observed the 29th July as a day of prayer for Nabha, and then the 9th of September was fixed for marking the aggrieved feelings of the Panth by leading hymn-singing processions barefooted through the principal streets of all important towns in the country and by offering prayers for Nabha in the Gurdwaras. Much water has flown under the bridges since the removal of His Highness from Nabha on the 9th July. Repression is on the Sikhs once more. Arrests are taking place rapidly in the Nabha State. The historic Gurdwara of Gangsar in the town of Jaiton, Nabha State, has been besieged by the State police. The congregation is shut in; pilgrims, offerings or provisions for the Guru's kitchen are not allowed to go in. Some other native States of the Punjab, and among them, be it said to the shame of Sikhs, some Sikh States, have adopted a sympathetic policy of repression. As yet the Punjab Government is strangely quiet.

So the sikhs are once more making history in pain

and suffering as last year at Guru-ka-Bagh full of faith in the mercy of God and full of determination to make all necessary sacrifices with meekness and with humility.

SAT SRI AKAL.

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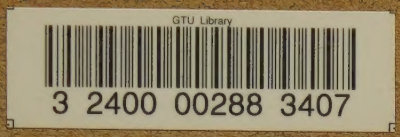

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